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LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY

The steadily growing affection for the memory of Lincoln is indicated by the widespread celebration of his birthday anniversary last week throughout the country. Perhaps the most significant illustration of the National character of this celebration is found in the fact that ex-Senator Blackburn, a veteran of the Confederate army, turned the first spadeful of sod for the Lincoln Memorial which is to be erected in Washington. "This memorial will show that Lincoln is now regarded as the greatest of all Americans," said Senator Blackburn, "and that he is so held by the South as well as the North." In the Senate the day was recognized by special exercises, one of the features of which was the reading of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address by Senator Bradley, of Kentucky. As usual, in many places political dinners were held in the evening. In New York the Republicans met at the Waldorf-Astoria under the auspices of the Republican Club. The chief sentiment of this Republican dinner was expressed in praise of Lincoln as a great Republican leader, and in the hope and belief that the Republican party is "coming back."

A more enthusiastic dinner was that of the National Progressives at the Hotel Astor, attended by a thousand men and women. The toastmaster, William Hamlin Childs, proposed a toast to President Wilson as a "man of surpassing individual attainment." It was responded to with cordiality and applause, but, naturally, heartier enthusiasm was aroused by the next toast, which was given by Mr. Childs in the following words: "To one who has done more to awaken the moral conscience of the American people than any man since the days of Abraham Lincoln, our absent leader, Theodore Roosevelt." Important addresses were made by George W. Perkins, John M. Parker, a former Democratic leader of the South, Everett Colby, and Miss Jane Addams, of Chicago. Mr. Parker denounced the Republican party for its reconstruction policy in the South, accused the Democratic party of narrow partisanship, and expressed the belief that the Progressive party gives the South its long-desired opportunity to unite with the North in constructive and liberal statesmanship for National welfare. Mr. Perkins repeated, what he has so often and effectively said before, that while, on the one hand, the Republican party had in recent years offered only a corrupt alliance to American business men, and while, on the other hand, the Democratic party was inimical and antagonistic to business efficiency and success, the Progressive party offers to the American business man the chance to exercise his business genius and talents while at the same time he is taking his own active part on a high plane in the political administration of the country. Miss Addams spoke for social justice; reaffirmed her belief that the social planks of the Progressive platform afford the only practical policy for the solution of the social problems with which she has been struggling for so many years; and stated, as a result of her personal observation, the opinion that the Progressive party is thoroughly alive and in good working condition in the Middle West.

MR. TAFT AS A REPUBLICAN PROPHET

One of the most remarkable articles on the general National political outlook is that which appeared in last week's "Saturday Evening Post," of Philadelphia, by ex-President Taft, on "The Future of the Republican Party."

The article is readable from every point of view. Its English style is admirable, and its spirit of frankness and generous feeling discloses that side of Mr. Taft's character which has made him so pleasant as a personality while at the same time so unsuccessful politically. For example, he says of himself: "The Republican candidate did not prove to

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be strong as a vote-getter in this campaign. He had been subjected to such severe criticism and bitter attack for nearly four years, and his personality and motives and sympathies had been so represented or misrepresented to the American people, that many Republicans preferred Mr. Roosevelt as a man."

Indeed, the article may be said to be an interpretation of Mr. Roosevelt's personality and an analysis of his political doctrine rather than a discussion of the future of the Republican party. Mr. Taft's ultramontane conservatism is curiously disclosed in the following passage of the article:

> However, I do not wish to be limited to a consideration of the future of the Republican party for the next four years. I think it has a far higher and nobler mission, which it may take a decade or more to develop and make clear; and it is of the utmost importance that it shall do nothing now or in the future to impair its usefulness for this mission. Those of us who believe that Mr. Roosevelt's new theories of government will seriously impair that which we hold essential to the maintenance of liberty regulated by law—and who at the same time know that he is a man of the greatest mental activity; of wonderfully attractive personality; of lightning quickness of apprehension; of exceptional facility for picturesque and forcible statement and the making of phrases that seize the public attention; of remarkable skill in selecting means of publicity; of extraordinary power to ignore the arguments and statements of facts of his adversaries; of still more extraordinary power to induce his followers to do so; and of indomitable courage to carry out his many theories by the exercise of Governmental power, should he acquire it—are justified in thinking that the most important thing to the country is to defeat the Progressive party in Presidential elections. The Republican party thus has an opportunity for usefulness to the people of this country that never has been exceeded, even in the crisis of the Civil War or in the free-silver campaign of 1896.

It is true that Mr. Taft at the very close of his article lays down a constructive course of action for the Republican party. This course of action is singularly like that embodied in the National Progressive platform. But even after the statement of this constructive policy he recurs again to his belief that the great function of the Republican party for the next four years or eight years is to defend the courts from the alleged attack made upon them by Mr. Roosevelt and his followers.

If Mr. Taft is right in believing that the great function of the Republican party, equal to the functions which it performed during the Civil War period, is to protect the country from the dangers of one man, we do not ourselves believe that its future is a very promising one. No party in this or any other country ever exercised much influence as a mere opposition or obstructionist movement. Constructive statesmanship is the one absolute essential to the permanency of any party. In this respect Mr. Wilson is apparently more far-sighted than Mr. Taft, for the weight of his influence in the Democratic party is being placed upon definite and constructive acts leading to what he believes to be the general social welfare.

THE LITERACY TEST FOR IMMIGRANTS

The Burnett Immigration Bill has passed the House of Representatives and is now before the Senate. The most important provision of this bill is that which requires that the incoming alien be subjected to a literacy test, and excludes from admission into the United States "all aliens over sixteen years of age, physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English language, or some other language or dialect, including Hebrew or Yiddish." This, however, does not prevent any citizen or legally admitted alien from bringing in or sending for certain relatives.

This provision is inserted on the assumption that the United States must limit the number of admissible aliens. It is not argued that this literacy test will infallibly sort out for exclusion the least desirable; but it is believed that it will reduce the number of immigrants, and will, on the whole, result in separating the inferior class of immigrants from the rest and sending them back.

We think there are two errors in this assumption. First, we think it is an error to assume that there is need for limiting the number of immigrants. This country can afford to welcome to its shores any one who gives promise of becoming really American, and whose descendants will become assimilated with the American people. Second, we think it is an error to assume that the alien who can read is more promising as a future American than the one who cannot. Illiteracy is a serious defect, but it is a defect which can be cured. What we need to do is to exclude aliens with defects that cannot be cured. The illiterate alien who comes here with the ambition of becoming literate and sending his children to school that they may become really educated has a better chance

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of becoming a good American citizen and contributing to the welfare of the country than the literate alien who just because he is literate has absorbed ideas that make him resentful toward authority and incapable of understanding American ideas of law and liberty.

Other proposals have been made for reducing the number of immigrants. One would limit the number to a certain percentage of each nationality already in the country. Another would limit immigration to those who have received a certain rate of wages in their own country. These tests have to do with number and with general classes, and for that reason, as well as for other reasons, we believe that they are not wise.

What we need is not so much new tests as, first, a more effective method of applying the tests now in existence; second, a more effective method of applying those tests to individuals rather than to classes; and, third, a better method of distributing aliens after they have arrived.

Aliens should be examined, not after they have been brought together in a great mass at Ellis Island, but at the ports of embarkation. They should be received only upon the presentation of passports which will certify to their individual moral character, and they should be encouraged by every legitimate method to settle upon the land rather than literally to pile themselves up in cities.

INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES

As The Outlook has already reported, President Wilson's trust programme has been embodied in five bills in Congress. As the seven bills on the subject which were passed by the New Jersey Legislature as a result of Mr. Wilson's recommendations when he was Governor were called the "Seven Sisters," so these bills in Congress have been dubbed the "Five Brothers." The one which is most significant is that which proposes to establish an Inter-State Trade Commission. This The Outlook discussed last week. The one which has received even more attention, probably, is that which is referred to in the cartoon reprinted from "Punch" on another page of this number.

This is entitled "A bill to prohibit certain persons from being or becoming directors, officers, or employees of national banks, or of certain corporations." It provides that after two years from its passage no one who is a director or officer or partner in a concern that manufactures or sells railway cars, locomotives, rails, or structural steel, or mines or sells coal, or conducts a bank or trust company, shall act as director, officer, or employee of any inter-State railway or public service corporation. It also prohibits any one from being director or officer or employee in two or more Federal Reserve banks or banks which are members of any Reserve bank and are operating under the new Banking and Currency Act; and it also prohibits any one who is a private banker or director of any State bank or trust company not operating under the act, from being a director in any that is operated under the act. The bill also provides that if any man is a director in two corporations engaged in inter-State commerce, that fact shall be conclusive evidence that there is no competition between those corporations, and, if they are natural competitors, the elimination of competition, thus conclusively proved, shall constitute restraint of trade in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

That there are real evils that have arisen as a consequence of interlocking directorates there can be no dispute. As President Wilson has pointed out, there has been occasion, through the fact that different corporations have had a common personnel in their boards of directorate, for what amounts to a conspiracy rather than a combination that has made for privilege and monopoly. This bill, however, goes so far in prohibiting interlocking directorates that it is evidently aimed at something more than what the President condemned. It is a part of the Democratic policy to solve the trust question by dissolution.

We do not believe that the evils of monopoly can be abolished by preventing combination. The tendency toward combination is a natural one and in esssence beneficial. The only way by which the benefits of combination can be secured and the evils of monopoly prevented is through strong administrative regulation.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S REVOLT AGAINST BLEASEISM

The passage by the House of Representatives of South Carolina of the Fortner Bill, prohibiting white men and women from teaching in colored schools, may bring about the collapse of Bleaseism and all that it portends. The action of the two leading newspapers of

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the State in lashing mercilessly the acquiescent legislators who voted as the Governor desired is not more significant than the great outpouring of citizens in Charleston on February 1, when the Rev. Dr. Jones, son of the famous Confederate chaplain, preached on "the proposition to legislate the Gospel out of South Carolina."

There are 835,000 Negroes in the State. There are but 676,000 whites, of whom one-tenth cannot read at all. Another one-tenth can read only with the greatest difficulty. It is this awful percentage of ignorance which has made Governor Blease possible, and it is to his interest that it continue. The poor whites have been driven from the fields by Negro competition and have flocked to the mill towns, which are the main support of Bleaseism.

Women with the purest blood of the South in their veins have given their lives to Negro education. This has been notably true in Charleston and on the sea islands adjacent. One of the most famous of living Southern authors was teaching a colored school in Arkansas when her writings first attracted attention. It is a service to which some of the best masculine minds of the South are now dedicated.

In the last few years there has been a dawning realization of the utter impossibility of ever solving the race problem except through the education of the Negroes, under the wisest guidance. The Negroes themselves have amazed observers by the avidity with which they have taken advantage of the restricted opportunities offered them. The Fortner Bill, therefore, is not in accord with progressive public opinion in South Carolina. Should it pass the Senate, as seems to be impossible, the whites would be the first to question its constitutionality. It has aroused the State as no other extravagance of Blease has done, and it should be the turning-point in the career of that politician.

NEW YORK POLICE BILLS

There are before the Legislature of New York State five bills which, taken together, form a measure of National importance. They are properly known as the Goethals Bills, because they embody the reform in the police system of New York City which Colonel Goethals named as a condition precedent to his accepting the New York City Police Commissionership. That reform ought to be secured, whoever may eventually become Police Commissioner.

At present the members of the police force of New York City have an almost irremovable grip upon their positions, while the Commissioner of Police is most insecure in office. The result of this state of affairs is, of course, ruinous to discipline and order. The corrupt police captain or inspector, whose corruption is a matter of notoriety, though it may be most difficult to prove in a court of law, can snap his fingers at the Commissioner with impunity. He can be removed only upon charges which are reviewable in a court of law. No business concern could for a moment carry on its business if it could remove only those employees who had committed some crime provable before a court of law. The curse of the New York Police Department has been that men unfaithful to their trust as public servants have been kept in office and even authority because it was impossible to convict them before a law court.

The five "Goethals Bills," which might even better perhaps be called the Mitchel bills, after Mayor Mitchel, who is sponsor for them, or the Pollock bills, after the State Senator who has introduced them, provide:

1. That the Commissioner of Police shall have a final authority to dismiss members of the uniformed force from office, providing only that the accused shall have an opportunity to make explanation before dismissal, and that after dismissal he may be granted by the Mayor a second opportunity for explanation. The Commissioner's decision as to whether either explanation is satisfactory or not is to be final and not subject to review by the courts.

2. That, except when the dismissal is for a crime of which the accused has been convicted in court, all amounts deducted from the dismissed member's pay and paid into the Pension Fund (except fines) shall be paid back to the accused.

3. That, except in cases of dismissal for crime of which the accused has been convicted, interest on the contributions of this member to the Pension Fund shall be paid to him at the rate of four per cent.

4. That the terms of service requisite for promotion to the office of lieutenant and captain be reduced, for the purpose of bringing younger men into places of authority.

5. That certain provisions of the present

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law inconsistent with these new measures be repealed.

The Outlook has long urged this reform. One of the obstacles in the way of it has been the Pension Fund. The fact that the policemen have paid out of their salaries regular amounts into this Fund has, in the eyes of the law, given them a sort of vested right to their office, which could be forfeited only by a conviction in court. The Outlook has suggested that this be obviated by establishing a special court for the trial of policemen, which should be subordinate to the Commissioner. These measures obviate the difficulty in another way, by providing that the payments to the Police Pension Fund be refunded. This is a secondary matter. The primary matter is that the Police Commissioner's authority be made commensurate to his responsibility, and this we believe is done in a Constitutional and just manner by these five bills. They ought to receive the support of every public-spirited citizen of the State.

New York City cannot suffer from corruption in its police force without allowing that the contagion of that corruption be spread throughout the State. Justice to the State at large as well as to the city requires the prompt passage of these bills. The police lobby which opposes it is not acting in the interest of the police force at large, but only in the interest of those powerful members of it who profit by corruption and insubordination. The bills will benefit the force at large because they will do much to relieve it of the disgrace brought upon it by corrupt and insubordinate members.

THE THIRD HAGUE CONFERENCE

It is difficult to see how any considerable progress in international law can be made without a Third Hague Peace Conference.

The Outlook has already enumerated certain specific subjects considered by the Conferences of 1899 and 1907 and awaiting the action of another Conference. The first five, which relate to war at sea, were definitely assigned by the Second Conference to "figure in the programme of the next Conference."

Since the Conference of 1907 interesting and important action has been taken concerning the laws of war at sea. As is well known, one of the results of that Conference was the establishment of an International Prize Court. The following year delegates from the leading maritime nations met at London and agreed upon a series of rules of the utmost importance, known as the Declaration of London. That Declaration was ratified by our Government, and the law necessary to give it effect in England was passed by the House of Commons but was rejected in the House of Lords. Fortunately, under the Parliamentary Act, the House of Commons can make it a law by passing it again.

In the second place, the Institute of International Law, a non-political, scientific body, including the principal international lawyers of the world, completed a codification of the laws of war at sea at its session last summer at Oxford. This whole subject is therefore ready for the action of the Third Conference.

There are also other things to engage the attention of such a Conference. For example, the world is all at sea about the rules which ought to govern air navigation, just as it has long been up in the air about the rules that ought to govern war on the sea!

As regards a Court of Arbitral Justice, the final act of the Second Conference recommended the establishment of such a court. The subject should of course be revived and carried to a successful conclusion.

With regard to the principle of compulsory arbitration, the Second Conference specifically declared that certain disputes should be submitted to compulsory arbitration without any restriction. Immediately after the Second Conference Senator Root, then Secretary of State, made twenty-six treaties embodying the principle of this declaration so far as possible. They were all exactly alike and each was to serve for five years.

OUR ARBITRATION TREATIES

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has at last recommended to the Senate the extension of eight of our arbitration treaties which have expired by limitation.

The Arbitration Treaty with France was extended just a year ago for another period of five years. The French was the first of our agreements with other nations providing for limited arbitration in accordance with the recommendation of the Hague Peace Conference of 1907.

The language of the new treaties is identical with that of their predecessors. The treaties are with Great Britain, Japan, Italy, Spain, Norway, Sweden, Portugal, and Switzerland. There has been long resistance to their extension, due chiefly to prejudices

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concerning the treaties with Great Britain and Japan; but finally all of the members of the Committee voted for extension except Senator O'Gorman, of New York, and Senator Smith, of Michigan. Senator O'Gorman's apparent objection to ratifying the British treaty is that such a treaty would give to the British Government a renewed opportunity to submit the Canal tolls question to the Hague Court of Arbitration. And yet Mr. O'Gorman is reported as declaring that the exemption of American coasting ships from the payment of tolls for the use of the Canal would properly come under each of the excepted clauses in the treaty, as, in his opinion, it affected the "vital interests" of the United States, its "independence" or "honor" and "the interests of third parties." Now, if the question really does come under any or all of these excepted clauses, why should he object to extending such a treaty?

The extension of the treaty with Japan would hardly affect the present situation, for neither Japan nor the United States would care to submit the issues now involved to arbitration; certainly, as the Japanese interpret it, the present issue with California involves their "honor," and, in so far as a State law apparently conflicts with treaty rights, we might construe the issue as affecting our "vital interests." The treaty merely means that when both Governments involved agree that they have a question to arbitrate, they will submit it to arbitration!

The Outlook hopes that the Senate will extend the life of the eight arbitration treaties for another five-year term.

THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

King George opened the fourth session of the present British Parliament last week with the usual picturesque ceremony. The King and Queen, wearing their crowns and royal robes, drove in the gilded state coach drawn by its eight Hanoverian cream-colored horses from Buckingham Palace to Parliament, where, in the House of Lords, their Majesties were surrounded by other members of the royal family and by peers and peeresses in their state robes.

A fact of some significance was the thoroughness of the work of those whose duties in searching the vaults of the Houses of Parliament have hitherto seemed to be largely perfunctory—a search made on the opening day of the session ever since the discovery of the Guy Fawkes Gunpowder Plot (1605). This search has usually been performed by the Yeomen of the Guard in their old-time uniforms. Last week the Yeomen kept up the traditions of the ceremony, carrying their ancient lanterns, but the lanterns were practically discarded for the modern electric flash lamps and torches borne by the inspectors of the metropolitan police, who accompanied the Yeomen to make sure that no militant suffragette was hiding in the vaults. Fortunately, in the line of the royal progress to and from the Houses of Parliament there was none of the anticipated difficulty with the suffragettes.

The King read his speech outlining the Government's programme for the session. This speech is, of course, really that of the Liberal Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith. His programme for the session is as follows:

1. A bill for Irish Home Rule.
2. A bill to disestablish the Welsh Church.
3. A bill to reconstitute the House of Lords.
4. A bill to abolish plural voting.
5. A bill to increase land proprietorships.
6. A bill to provide for Imperial naturalization.
7. A bill to improve the condition of the poor, with particular regard to housing.
8. A bill to enlarge the facilities for education.

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT'S SOLUTION

In the Parliamentary debate following the Speech from the Throne Mr. Asquith said that he would welcome the scheme proposed by Sir Horace Plunkett—the Irish publicist, well known in this country and abroad for his efficient advocacy of agricultural co-operation. Sir Horace's opinion in Irish matters rightly carries weight with all parties. He is of the opinion that the passage of the Home Rule Bill as it stands will lead to serious sectarian riots, perhaps to civil war, in Ulster, and to avert such a disaster he proposes that the Ulster Unionists should accept the bill on three conditions:

First—That a clause be inserted enabling a plebiscite after a certain number of years to decide whether any section of Ulster desires to continue subject to the Irish Parliament.

Second—That both sections of Irishmen be invited to suggest to the Government any amendments which can be incorporated in the bill by consent.

Third—That the Ulster volunteers have an opportunity to become organized as a territorial

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force, with the double object of adding a valuable body to the nation's defensive forces and preserving intact for the Ulster Unionists an ultimate safeguard upon which, rightly or wrongly, they can rely for the preservation of their liberties.

Sir Horace Plunkett's impression is evidently that an experience of some years of Home Rule might show to Ulstermen that their fears of what would happen to them and their industries are groundless, while at the same time the southern Irish would have every incentive to prevent the Ulstermen from seceding, by yielding to the wishes of the latter in the conduct of the Home Rule government.

This scheme, however, has been rejected by Sir Edward Carson, the Ulster Unionist leader, who thus commented: "It is simply marking time. There is nothing in it that should induce the Ulster Covenanters to relax their preparations for resisting Home Rule." Sir Edward's inference from Premier Asquith's statement, however, was that the exclusion of Ulster from the operation of the Home Rule Bill would not conflict with the fundamental principles of the bill. At all events, it is encouraging to find Sir Edward himself actually talking about a possible compromise. He stipulates, first, that there must be no humiliating settlement as regards Ulster; second, that the same protection of the Imperial Parliament must be preserved to Ulster as to any other part of the United Kingdom; and, third, there must be no establishment of a foundation for the ultimate separation of Great Britain and Ireland. On another page we comment further on this matter.

ALLEGED GRAFT IN JAPAN

The charges of secret corrupt relations between certain Japanese naval officers and certain German manufacturers of armaments has led not only to a very sharp debate in the Diet, but to stormy scenes in the streets of Tokyo. The attempt of the Opposition to pass a resolution of censure on the Government was defeated by a vote of 205 to 164. Count Yamamoto, the Prime Minister, who is an admiral in the Japanese navy and an authority in naval affairs, declared that a thorough investigation was being made, and demanded that judgment should be suspended until that investigation had been completed. But feeling ran very high; and the crowds of people waiting in the streets about the Chamber in which the Diet sits protested strongly against the results of the voting. They waited for the appearance of the members of the Ministry, but as these gentlemen wisely neglected to appear, the mob proceeded to attack a newspaper which is supposed to be a Government organ. Large mass-meetings were held in various places in the city, and resolutions calling for the impeachment of the Cabinet were adopted.

Mobs are easily formed in Tokyo. There are many thousand students living in the city and many thousand apprentices in the small shops and factories, and these young men are always ready for the chance of a disturbance. Precisely what weight should attach to the charges and how far the corruption of naval officers extends, if there has been corruption, it is impossible to state. But the chance of attacking the Premier, who represents the navy, was too good to be lost; and the Opposition to the present Ministry has been quick to avail itself of this opportunity of renewing its attacks. Admiral Yamamoto is a man of high character, and is probably, all things considered, the best man in Japan to head the Government at the present time.

Meantime public opinion steadily gains force in Japan.

PERU AND MEXICO

Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State, announces that he has instructed Minister McMillan to confer the recognition of our Government upon the revolutionary government in Peru. This Government came into power ten days ago, when its present head, Colonel Benadides, led the garrison troops against the National Palace, imprisoned President Billinghurst, and killed all those who opposed the attack.

The case seems almost identical with events in Mexico a year ago, when President Madero was imprisoned and, like President Billinghurst, forced to resign. If anything, the subsequent proceedings in Mexico were more regular than those in Peru have been, for General Huerta became President under a provision of the Constitution providing for the succession of the Minister of Foreign Affairs under the disability of the President. Moreover, Huerta's accession as Provisional President was confirmed by the Congress. In Peru, on the other hand, the new Government has no apparent basis in the Constitution, and, furthermore, its existence, so far

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as we know, has not yet been confirmed by Congress.

Under these circumstances it is generally supposed that President Wilson's previous declarations of policy required, if our Administration were to be consistent, that the new Government in Peru should not be recognized, at least not until Congress had authorized and confirmed it. In his Mobile speech President Wilson said: "It is our duty to make the Western Hemisphere the home of the free, governed only as the people dictate. We must follow the course of high principle, not of expediency, no matter what the pressure."

The new Peruvian Government can thus hardly be a government to President Wilson's liking; for it does not conform to his declaration of policy in his Inaugural Address, nearly a year ago, when he said: "Co-operation is possible only when supported at every turn by the orderly processes of just government based upon law, not upon arbitrary or irregular force."

It is natural that the Peruvians should be irritated at any comparison between Peru and Mexico. The supporters of the new Government assert that it has come into power as a defender of Constitutionalism, as against the alleged attacks upon the Constitution by President Billinghurst, and that Peru will now enjoy "a sound, healthy, and real freedom in constitutional government not surpassed by the democratic institutions of the Republic of the United States of America."

HAITI, COLOMBIA, VENEZUELA AND ECUADOR

There are two new Presidents in countries bordering the Caribbean Sea. In Haiti last week the National Assembly went through the form of choosing General Oreste Zamor as President after Zamor had entered Port-au-Prince, the capital, at the head of his victorious troops and had demanded the convening of Congress at once and the election of an Executive. Meanwhile the former President had fled to Jamaica. The case is another reminder of the Huerta stroke-of-state a year ago in Mexico except that, like President Billinghurst in Peru, the mulatto President of Haiti seems not to have been harmed bodily by the black who succeeded him. But Zamor is not to lie on a bed of roses. His revolutionary rival, Theodore, still commands a large body of men in the north and protests to the Powers against "Zamor's election by an illegally constituted Chamber."

It certainly seems a pity that our State Department did not act immediately on receipt of the news of the plot to unseat the Haitian President. In particular, by its inaction, it gave the impression that it did not grasp the importance of the opportunity offered to repeat for the rest of the island of Haiti our success in Santo Domingo in supervising the collection of customs receipts. Hunger for them forms the motive for most Caribbean revolutions. Nor can it be altogether easy for the State Department to recognize the new Haitian Government as really constitutionally established and free from the suspicion of military dictatorship.

It is a relief to turn from such a condition of affairs to that in Colombia, where, under circumstances of unprecedented quiet, so the papers report, Dr. José Vicente Concha was last week elected President. He is of middle age and a lawyer. He has been Minister at Washington, Minister of War, and President of the Senate. He is a man of considerable personal force among his people.

Just over the border in Venezuela there is unrest. A revolutionary force is forming in protest against the alleged arbitrary removal from office by President Gomez of ten presidents of provinces, in violation of the Constitution, and the substitution of ten of his henchmen.

In Ecuador there is real rebellion, the outgrowth of the revolution in which President Alfaro lost his life. The rebels hold Esmeraldas, a northern port, and last week they not only defeated the Government forces, but three Government regiments also deserted to the rebels. The circumstances attending this and other rebellions, as noted above, should certainly give concern to those in charge of the policy of our Department of State.

THE RULER OF ALBANIA

According to a despatch to the New York "Sun," all the parties in Albania declare that they are willing to abide by the decision of the Powers and welcome William of Wied as their Prince. But there are daily rumors of stratagems and intrigues to defeat any plans that Europe may have for the settlement of the country. The despatch adds that the conflicting interests of Austria, Italy,

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and Turkey, the poverty and helplessness of the people, the greed for power among its chiefs, all seem to make a long way off that rule of order and peace for which the Albanians have for centuries fought in their struggle for national independence.

Prince William of Wied, the choice of the Powers as ruler of Albania, is an interesting personality for that position. In the first place, he is a Protestant. Now "there are no Protestants in Albania except the Protestant missionaries," the well-known Roman Catholic weekly, "America," informs us, "and possibly they may have something to do with the choice." Albania will thus be like Bulgaria, whose King is a Roman Catholic, while his subjects are mostly Greek Catholics. As Albania is Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Mohammedan, it will be a curious arrangement to have them governed by a Protestant.

In the second place, the new ruler of Albania is a rich man, and his wealth is doubled by that of his wife. (Portraits of both appear on another page.)

In the third place, Prince William is a good soldier, as is shown by the fact that he passed with flying colors the very hard examination which qualifies for the General Staff Corps of the German army.

Finally, the Prince comes from one of those mediatized—that is to say, formerly reigning—families of Germany which retain some of their old-time prerogatives, including that of mating on a footing of equality with the present sovereign dynasties of Europe.

A WOMAN BANKER OF JAPAN

The impression is widespread in this country that women in Japan hold the same position as in other parts of the Orient. Nothing could be further from the truth. Japanese women are neither slaves nor toys. They are held in great respect. It is true that Buddhism and the militarism of the feudal system took them out of public affairs, in which they were once very prominent, and secluded them in their homes; but the Japanese mother and wife have always been held in high honor. That Japanese women can likewise share the business responsibilities of their country is attested by the career of Mrs. Seno, the head of the Seno Bank of Tokyo, whose portrait appears elsewhere in this issue.

Her remarkable career is traced in a recent number of the "Japan Magazine." Mrs. Seno's husband was a prosperous merchant who resolved to establish a bank in his home town in the northern island of Hokkaido, but he died before his plans were put into execution. His wife determined to carry them out herself, but decided that a greater opportunity would be afforded for banking business in the city of Tokyo. She accordingly moved to the capital, bought a favorable site in the suburbs, placed her adopted son in a financial institution so that he might become familiar with the details of banking, and, when he had proved himself capable, established the Seno Bank, with a capital of five hundred thousand yen (about $250,000). The new institution is a joint stock company, the stock being held in the family. Its first year's business has been signally successful, and it has declared a dividend of over six per cent.

Mrs. Seno, who is over seventy years of age, arrives in the president's office early every morning and supervises all the transactions of the institution. She dresses very simply, is easily accessible, and has great influence over her subordinates. She is in every sense of the word the head of the institution. In all matters affecting loans and investments she gives the final decision, and she is regarded as the most expert accountant in the institution. Her attitude towards her employees is one of great kindness and consideration. She combines in a rare degree quickness of thought, promptness of action, and generosity of nature. She always travels third class. When she became a large shareholder in a railway, she was presented with a first-class pass, but she still traveled third class. One of the railway officers remonstrated with her, and she replied that as part owner of the railway she felt that she was a host rather than a guest, and that she should leave the first-class cars for those who had tickets and were often compelled to take seats in inferior cars for lack of accommodation. She is a woman of many private charities. The first private subscriber to offer money to the authorities at the time of the war with Russia was Mrs. Seno. Her greatest delight is said to be spending her evenings with her grandchildren, telling them stories, hearing about their studies, and listening to violin music.

In view of the widespread misapprehension regarding Japanese character, it is inter

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esting to note the motto of her family, and the method she takes to give to that motto practical effect. It is her practice when her children or grandchildren offend to bring the offender before the family altar and to point to the inscribed tablet which bears in golden text the single word "Sincerity."

SAMUEL BILLINGS CAPEN

The death of Samuel Billings Capen, President of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, on February 4, at Shanghai, in his seventy-second year, closed a remarkable and beneficent career. Having obtained employment in the carpet business at the age of seventeen, he soon became a partner in the firm, now the Torrey, Bright & Capen Company, Boston. During the past thirty years he has been an active member of various associations for civic, educational, philanthropic, and religious interests.

The qualities evinced in these pointed to him in 1899 as the right man to become the President of the American Board. A critical hour had come, so pressing were the financial needs of a work expanding beyond the means supplied for it. The Outlook remarked on Mr. Capen's almost unanimous election that "both Yale and the Board now experiment wisely with a layman at the helm," and of Mr. Capen as a man "who has proved his executive ability by his past success in difficult public services." It was, however, not the first time that a layman had taken the helm. Governor John Treadwell, of Connecticut, had taken it in 1810, and in 1847 Theodore Frelinghuysen, the Whig nominee in 1844 for the Vice-Presidency.

Events quickly justified the choice of Mr. Capen in face of dwindling receipts and a debt of $88,000. The next year's receipts showed an increase of nearly $100,000. The campaign for efficiency and scientific management, more recently started in industrial and business concerns, Mr. Capen then initiated in missionary affairs. He persuaded the Congregational churches, then contributing somewhat undependably, to sanction his "apportionment system," allotting to each its just share of responsibility for supplying the means for missionary work among the seventy-five million people who constitute the world-parish of the Board among the parishes of the co-operating Boards of other churches. With keenness for efficient management he combined a statesmanlike view of religious work.

The theme of Mr. Capen's first annual address was "Our Missionary Copartnership." In view of impending conflicts in the Far East, he declared for "the closer drawing together of America, England, and Germany, countries representing the spirit of religious freedom." At the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York, a few months earlier, he had said, "The Saxon and the Slav are to contend for the world, and it is our duty to put a missionary wherever he can block the way of Russia." These high qualities were inspired and crowned by his profound conviction that "what we all need more than anything else is a *deeper spiritual life*."

Such was the life that suddenly closed in full career. Accompanied by his wife and daughter, he had gone with a deputation of the Board to take part in the centennial of its mission in India and to visit its missions in China and Japan, when he fell asleep at Shanghai. The honorary degrees which attested the public appreciation of his services—A.M. at Dartmouth, LL.D. at Oberlin and Middlebury—were never more worthily conferred.

A CHURCH PEACE FOUNDATION

Mr. Carnegie has created another Peace Foundation by an investment of two million dollars, the income of which is to be used by the churches of America to further the ends of the Peace Movement. This foundation is to be managed by a Board of Trustees, which will include cardinals, archbishops, bishops, moderators, rabbis, public men, authors, and others, who are to decide how the annual income of one hundred thousand dollars shall be spent.

The first object Mr. Carnegie has in mind is to unite Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, all of which are more or less of Teutonic descent, in an agreement to submit future disputes to arbitration. Among the instrumentalities to be used in advancing the cause of peace on this foundation are the placing of all necessary information in the hands of the clergy, to secure sermons on international peace and the calling of conferences among the clergy of the different nations, the exchange of preachers and friendly visiting between nations, and in all other ways to unify and direct the influence of the Church toward securing the substitution of

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arbitration for war. The trustees already named include Bishop Greer of New York, who is to be chairman, Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore, Bishop Lawrence of Massachusetts, Bishops Wilson and Hendricks of the Methodist Church, Dr. Brown of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, Dr. Clark of the Christian Endeavor Societies, Dr. John R. Mott, Dr. Henry Wade Rogers of Yale University, President Faunce of Brown University, Dr. Robert E. Speer, Mr. Francis Lynde Stetson, and Mr. Hamilton Holt, of New York City, and other distinguished men representing various religious communions.

In his address to the trustees of the new foundation, Mr. Carnegie, who confidently believes in the near approach of universal peace, declared that when war has been abolished the income of the foundation is to be devoted to the aid of the poor and afflicted. The endowment is to be called the Church Peace Union; and a resolution was passed urging rulers of all nations, statesmen, and people in all civilized lands to give immediate attention to the disastrous effects of war and to substitute the settlement of international disputes by arbitration.

DR. TAYLOR AND VASSAR COLLEGE

The retirement of Dr. James Monroe Taylor from the presidency of Vassar College completes a service to the college distinguished alike by its quality and its material effectiveness. Vassar was a pioneer among American colleges for women; and, although it has many competitors, it still holds a first place, not only as regards its teaching, but as regards its equipment. The problem with which it has had to deal of late years has been a surplusage of students. The small institution of which Dr. Taylor took charge twenty-seven and a half years ago has now become a college of a thousand students, all housed on the campus; six dormitories, a reception-hall, biological and chemical laboratories, a library, chapel, infirmary, a gymnasium and students' building, have been added to the physical equipment of the institution. The library, which had twelve thousand volumes, now houses eighty thousand volumes. The general endowment has grown by half a million. The advance of standards has been evidenced by the abolition of a preparatory department, the raising of the qualifications for admission, the establishment of twelve new chairs in the faculty, and a general invigoration of the life of the institution.

Dr. Taylor has combined in an uncommon way the qualities essential to success at the head of a woman's college. He has created an atmosphere of moral earnestness, intellectual vigor, and freedom from all forms of sentimentalism. He retires in order to do other work; and he has earned the opportunity which he has long craved of a freer hand for such work. His successor has not been chosen; but the affairs of the College are to be directed by a committee of trustees and faculty, Professor Herbert E. Mills acting as chairman.

COMPETITION IN WELL-DOING

One result of the public interest in the remarkable profit-sharing plan proposed by Mr. Henry Ford and described in The Outlook recently has been the recognition of the large number of other profit-sharing or welfare plans already in action. We hear so much of the rapacity and cold-bloodedness of large corporations that it is most agreeable to read this kind of news.

For instance, we find that several large corporations have recently been competing for prizes awarded for what may be called industrial humaneness. An incorrect and rather absurd statement in a Boston paper that the New York Telephone Company had recently received a Nobel Prize for having been the year's most prominent exponent of care-taking and welfare work for its employees led The Outlook to ascertain the real fact, which is that precisely such a prize has been awarded to the New York Telephone Company, not, of course, under the Nobel foundation, but at the International Exhibition of Safety and Sanitation held in New York last month. In point of fact, the Company received two medals in recognition of this kind of work, while the Southern Pacific Railroad received the Harriman Memorial medal as the American railway "most successful in protecting the lives and health of its employees and the public." Forty-two corporations we are told, competed for this distinction. At the same time, the Seaman medal for progress in the protection of occupational diseases went to the United States Steel Corporation. All these companies and many others are evidently vying with one another not only for prizes

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but for results. The New York Telephone Company's exhibit, for instance, is described as elaborate and unique, and included a telephone switchboard in actual operation and a reproduction of a typical operators' sitting-room. We note also that the company has just adopted in New York City a plan for making additional payments to operators who remain in service for two years or more, and has reduced the working day from nine to eight hours, while at the same time increasing the wage scale.

All this is, of course, largely intelligent self-interest, but very much of it is also generous and intelligent appreciation of the workers' faithfulness and their needs. The New York Telephone Company, for instance, argues that the public it serves must have the highest possible grade of telephone service, and that therefore the standard of efficiency of the operating force must be kept at the best possible point. Its liberal treatment attracts such operators; the public benefits; and the telephone service in New York City is the best in the world. But no one can read the little pamphlet issued by the company, which gives true stories about the intelligence and heroism of "the girl at the switchboard," or read the description of the arrangements for the comfort of the operators in another pamphlet, without seeing that not merely self-interest but friendliness and sympathy are involved in the company's welfare work. Intelligent altruism may be, and evidently in very many cases is, combined with human friendliness and helpfulness.

A FOOLHARDY PROJECT

Common sense is in agreement with Mr. Orville Wright's opinion that to attempt to cross the Atlantic in an aeroplane at this stage of the development of air-flying would be both foolhardy and impracticable. Remembering the narrow escape from death of the reckless experimenters who a few years ago started to cross the Atlantic in a great dirigible balloon, and remembering also that the present plan, even if successful, would not add to the world's knowledge or to the science of aviation, but would simply make a "record" and exploit a newspaper, one hopes that the advice of Mr. Wright, whose influence in aviation has always been sound, will prevail. If the Wright stabilizer proves to be what is hoped, it will be of more value than any number of daring, death-defying feats. He declares that greater stability and perfection in the aeroplane are prerequisites to a trans-ocean flight and that no engine now built could stand the strain of such a journey.

Nevertheless, there have already been entries made to compete for the $50,000 prize of Lord Northcliffe (of the London "Mail") for the first flight across the Atlantic, to be made next summer and in seventy-two hours. The route proposed from this side would be via Newfoundland and Ireland. Mr. Glenn H. Curtiss is building a machine for Mr. Rodman Wanamaker for the purpose, and this entry will represent the Aero Club of America.

Another and rather visionary long-distance aero project is for a flight around the world to be made in conjunction with the Panama Exposition of 1915.

LOST LOCOMOTIVES

A recent notice in the "Daily Mail," of London, indicates that when the Southeastern and Chatham Railway completed its annual stock-taking it found that two locomotives were missing. Diligent inquiry discovered one of these—the article does not state where—but no trace of the other has been found. Commenting on this fact in the paper, a railway officer says that another prominent British railway, some years ago, absolutely lost six locomotives, and that its inventory reported as missing, in addition, two hundred goods wagons and fifty passenger coaches.

We are accustomed to hear from time to time of ships reported missing, no trace of them being found afterwards, but it is doubtful if many of us had thought of the possibility of losing engines or railway cars on land, though it is a fact that the experience of the English is not without parallel in this country. Any one who is watching a freight train pass, if he is not familiar with the checking system at all junction points, might wonder how cars ever got back "home again," for the average freight train is made up of units from railways often thousands of miles apart, and, excepting in the case of coal trains, it frequently happens that there are more cars belonging to other systems than to the one on which the train may be traveling.

It would seem that it should be easy to find a lost locomotive, but freight cars and their contents frequently disappear mysteriously. Some years ago, at Nelson, British Columbia, there was an attempt to recover a freight car sunk just off the dock. If the railway company had ever missed it, there

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was no record of it at Nelson, but there it was, discovered by accident under some ten or fifteen feet of water. The only explanation that the local agents could make was that some careless switching engineer had bumped the car off the dock and had failed to report its loss.

The contents of freight cars frequently disappear equally mysteriously. Some years ago a valuable consignment of ore from a Canadian mine was sent to New York for delivery to a local smelter. The ore did not arrive, and the usual "tracers" sent out from both ends failed to find the missing shipment. Months afterward this was discovered. Through some oversight the papers were missing when the freight train drew into the New York terminal, and the car was shunted to a side-track to await information. It happened that this track was one where car-loads of cinders from the roundhouse were accumulated. When these cars were ready, a switch engine coupled them all and took them to fill in a swamp. They took along also the car of ore, which was dumped with the cinders into the mud. The discovery of a few pieces of rich silver ore among the ashes attracted the attention of track-walkers or others, and led to inquiry. Of course it was impossible to rescue the ore, and the railway company had to pay the shippers for its estimated value.

ANOTHER SHAW PLAY

Those people who insist on finding a moral in everything that Mr. George Bernard Shaw writes will have a very pretty problem presented to them by "The Philanderer," which is now being played to large audiences in the delightful Little Theater in New York City. As an exposition of a philosophy of life no play could be more baffling! Only the most devout devotee of the Shaw cult would even suspect a moral significance. So far as any ethical lesson is concerned, the play has neither beginning nor end; it is simply a very entertaining and audacious piece of fun-making by a very entertaining and audacious writer in whose mind there is reverence for nothing in heaven above nor in the earth beneath nor the waters under the earth. "The Philanderer" is a gentleman who is always more or less in love with himself, but who fancies himself in love with persons of the other sex. In his most ardent moments, however, he never forgets himself. He is the object of his own idolatry and he expects the idolatry of the women whom he honors with his paradoxical attention.

In the course of the play nearly every modern movement or fad receives a succession of blows, especially that of the New Woman, who supplies, perhaps, the central motive and is the most conspicuous target in the play. She is assailed from all quarters. The most entertaining scene is in a club in London, frequented by both men and women, in which the men find themselves reduced to great discomfort by the fumes of cigarette smoke blown by the women.

Mr. Shaw is almost invariably entertaining, and this play has the advantage of being piquant and at the same time free from sex-obsession. It furnishes innocuous entertainment for man, but not for beast.

"POTASH AND PERLMUTTER"

One of the most interesting plays now on the stage is "Potash and Perlmutter" as it is performed at the Cohan Theater in New York City. It might be supposed that an attempt amusingly to represent the careers of Hebrew clothing-makers could hardly be successful without giving offense to many Jews. Such, however, is not the case; at all events, their reception of this play has been indulgent and even enthusiastic. This is doubtless due to the fact that the play develops the finer fiber of the Hebrew nature. Taking it as it appears in an East Side garment factory, the drama realistically exhibits to us the various factors which must make the success of such an industrial and commercial enterprise. The progress of the story brings out elemental qualities not foreign to any race or people, and these are accentuated so emphatically that long before the play ends the audience is as much impressed by the genuine goodness and altruism as to the motives of the varying incidents as it had been at first by the merely amusing or picturesque characteristics of those incidents.

As a bit of dramatic construction the play is also admirable. It is so clever that it may be enjoyed both on account of its technical merit and on account of its delineation of a certain side of life not always appreciated by the ordinary theater-goer or the man-in-the-street. The play affords many an occasion for a hearty laugh. It will also do good because it will make audiences realize that there is, after all, more goodness and more genuineness in the world than they may think.

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THE CANAL TOLLS

If any reliance can be placed on widespread newspaper reports, the President is quietly using his influence with the members of Congress in favor of the repeal of the law passed by the last Congress exempting coastwise vessels passing through the Panama Canal from the payment of Canal tolls. The Democratic platform of 1912 declared in favor of the exemption. How far a party is bound to carry out when it gets into power the policies which it defined in its platform when it was seeking power is not a question altogether easy to answer. In general we agree with the claim of the Progressive party two years ago that a platform should be a programme. It has been the bane of American politics that parties have been accustomed, in order to get votes, to profess policies which they had no sincere intention of carrying out after the votes were obtained. Yet if the party leaders, after power has been given to them, honestly change their minds and conclude that the policy which they had proposed will be injurious, not beneficial, to the country, they certainly are not bound for the sake of consistency to inflict on the country the injury which consistent adherence to that platform would involve. The Republican party in 1860 declared its opposition to interference with slavery in the Southern States, yet two years after Mr. Lincoln's election an emancipation proclamation was issued which did interfere with slavery in the Southern States.

But when a party has pledged itself to a policy and its leaders for any reason conclude that it is inexpedient to carry that policy out, they are bound in honor to state to the country openly and frankly the reasons which have led them to change. If President Wilson thinks that the law exempting coastwise vessels from the Canal tolls ought to be repealed, we hope that he will say so in a special Message to Congress, and in that Message will frankly recognize the fact that the Democratic party has pledged itself to maintain that policy of exemption, and frankly state to Congress and the country the reasons why, in his judgment, that policy of exemption should not be continued. Let us know whether he thinks circumstances have changed so as to make inexpedient now a policy which seemed expedient a year and a half ago, or whether further study of the question has led him to change his mind and to desire to change the mind of his party associates. There is nothing discreditable in such a change provided it is made openly and the reasons for it are frankly stated.

As at present advised, The Outlook sees no reason to change its mind on this subject, and we here restate the conclusions which we have heretofore stated without now taking the time and space to restate the reasons which have led us to those conclusions. Those conclusions may be summarized briefly, as follows:

1. Under the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, which superseded the previous Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, we believe that America has a right to exempt coastwise vessels from tolls in passing through the Panama Canal.

2. Whether it has such right, however, is a debatable question. The statesmen of Great Britain seem generally to be agreed that it has not. Able lawyers in this country are divided in opinion upon the question; some maintain our right, some deny it. There are three methods of settling the question thus raised. We may either waive the right and repeal the exemption, or we may agree to refer the question to the Hague Tribunal, or we may refuse to consider it an open question and insist upon our right regardless of Great Britain's protests.

3. Under the general Arbitration Treaty between this country and Great Britain it was provided that "differences which may arise of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be referred to the permanent court of arbitration;" but this agreement was subject to certain specified exceptions. Is the United States under obligation to submit the question of Canal tolls to arbitration because of this Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain? Mr. Roosevelt, who was President when the Arbitration Treaty was negotiated, and Mr. Root, who, as Secretary of State, negotiated the treaty, both hold that the United States is honorably bound by the treaty to arbitrate the Canal tolls question, unless the question can be settled in some other way satisfactory to both Powers. Whatever our individual opinion might have been upon this subject, it appears to us clear that the people of the United States are bound by the judgment of their agents who negotiated the Arbitration Treaty. They cannot honorably go back of the interpretation which their own representatives gave to this contract between America

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and Great Britain. For this reason we think that the question of Canal tolls ought to be submitted to The Hague, if Great Britain desires such submission, unless the United States is willing to waive its right and thus avoid the expense and trouble of an international lawsuit.

4. In an editorial in The Outlook for January 18, 1913, we declared our opinion that "it would be more consonant with our dignity, and more conducive to the peaceful relations between Great Britain and the United States, for Congress to repeal the provision for the free passage of coastwise vessels through the Canal, than to wait for the always uncertain results of an international lawsuit." We are still of that opinion, provided Congress, in repealing the exemption law, states explicitly that it does so, not because it doubts our right to exempt our coastwise vessels from the tolls, but because we choose to waive that right as an act of friendly courtesy to our kin across the sea.

Congress ought to provide either for the arbitration of this question by the Hague Tribunal or for the repeal of the law without arbitration; but if it pursues the latter course, it ought to make it perfectly clear that the repeal is enacted purely as an act of friendly consideration for Great Britain, not at all because the United States doubts both its moral and legal right to maintain the exemption.

IRISH HOME RULE

The session of the British Parliament which opened last week is likely to be historic. It should see the triumphant conclusion of the thirty years' struggle of the English Liberal party to give some kind of self-government to Ireland.

What is meant by self-government for Ireland? Is it the kind of government desired by three-quarters of Ireland and not desired by the other quarter?

The Radicals say yes. Under their influence, a Home Rule Bill was passed by the House of Commons in 1886. Another was passed in 1893. Another was passed by the present Liberal Government. It is about automatically to become law because, if now presented for the third time in the House of Commons and adopted, it should receive the royal assent with or without the assent of the House of Lords.

The bill as it stands represents what seems to us the most intelligent effort yet made by the Liberals towards a solution of the Irish question as desired by the Irish majority. But, good as it is, the bill does not satisfy those who live in the north of Ireland. Unlike the inhabitants of the center and south of the island, those of the north are not agriculturists and Roman Catholics; they are industrialists and Protestants. And, what is more, they cling with tenacity to their union with Great Britain. They declare that they do not want Home Rule for Ireland in a government in which they will be in a hopeless minority. Let the Home Rule Bill pass if it must, they say, but let it exclude us. This attitude is well shown by Mr. Mackay in his article on page 415.

Under these circumstances, when Parliament met last week it was not surprising that the Unionists should have challenged the Radicals to exclude Ulster, the northern of the four Irish counties, from the application of the Home Rule Bill, or else to submit Home Rule to a vote of the country. Otherwise, warned the Unionists, there are a hundred thousand men training in Ulster, prepared to sacrifice their lives in resisting the new law. The Government would have to put it into effect by the use of British bullets and bayonets.

In this challenge it must be remembered that the Conservative party (recruited, as it long has been, by the Liberal Unionists, and thus forming one political whole as opposed to Irish Home Rule) does not care so much about the cause of Ulster as it does about the use of Home Rule as a means to drive the Liberals from power. In the recent words of a Conservative member of Parliament, the Ulster row gave to his party "a winner." On the other side the Liberals have passed a bill which is about to become a law. "If you do not amend the law," warn their political opponents, "we propose to defeat your legislation, not in Parliament, but outside. And we propose to defeat it in one of two ways. We will force you to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the people in a manner unknown to our Constitution, or you may expect civil war."

Is there not a third course? We believe there is. Many Conservatives and not a few Liberals are coming to realize that the underlying cause to be promoted is not that of Ulster any more than it is that of Wales; that the thing to be sought for is not merely Irish Home Rule but local self-governments for local affairs with an Imperial

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government for Imperial affairs; and that to define the limits of such governments racial, religious, economic, and social forces must be taken into consideration. In this view, with which The Outlook sympathizes, the real matter at issue is to provide proper local self-governments for each of these social units—one such unit being Ulster, and another the rest of Ireland, another such unit being Wales, another Scotland, another even Lancashire, as distinguished from the rest of England. It is a satisfaction to note that Mr. Churchill and other supporters of the present Cabinet have been emphatic in espousing such a plan.

Perhaps Mr. Asquith himself had this plan in mind when he said, as he did at the close of the debate on the first day of the session, "As far as I and my colleagues are concerned we will not close any avenue, however unpromising the entrance thereto may appear, which directly or indirectly holds out any hope of leading to concord and a settlement."

The traditional ability of English statesmen to arrive at a reasonable compromise should not fail them at this juncture. The alternative—civil war—is unthinkable.

THE NEEDS OF THE ARMY

A bank is not a great big strong box in which money is locked up ready for instant use; it is an institution which keeps at hand only enough of its resources to satisfy the probable demands of its customers, while the rest of its resources are utilized in some productive business.

The United States army is like this money in the bank. As a non-military Nation we wish to keep as much human currency in circulation as possible. We desire a standing army only large enough to discourage a run on the bank at the time of an international panic. With this principle of procedure not only our civilian but our military authorities are in hearty accord.

Nevertheless, in accepting this comparison between our army and money in the bank we are in danger of forgetting the most important part. While every bank, it is true, keeps only a small part of its resources within its vaults, the bank which did not look to its reserves would last just about long enough to fail.

Within certain limits, it is perhaps fair to compare our present military establishment to such a bank. We have indeed a highly efficient army, handicapped, it is true, by political interests, which have scattered its component parts at small posts throughout the country. We have, moreover, an organized militia, which, under enlightened leadership, is advancing steadily in efficiency and equipment. Yet of reserve troops we have practically none at all. In this respect, with the exception of troubled Mexico, we stand alone among the nations of the world.

If war should come to-morrow, it would be necessary to fill out our skeleton army and our skeleton militia regiments to a very large extent with untrained men. Instead of our present practice of encouraging long enlistment and of dropping from the rolls the soldier whose term of service has expired, the ideal we should set before us is the graduation of as many men as are possible each year from the army into civilian life. These men should be kept upon the rolls of the army under nominal pay as a reserve force ready to answer the instant call of the Federal Government. This reserve of trained men should be sufficient at least to bring the regular army immediately to full statutory strength upon the outbreak of hostilities and to replace the probable losses in the first three months of any war. When it is realized that we could maintain approximately ten men in such a reserve for what it costs to keep one man with the colors, it will be seen that in advocating such a programme the General Staff of the army is working for economy as well as for military efficiency. Men in the reserve, once they are trained and returned to civil life, become self-sustaining wage-earners, adding to the material wealth of the country. The General Staff has prepared and sent to Congress a bill providing for the establishment of such a reserve.

Just as it is impossible to manufacture from raw civilian material an army to satisfy instant need, just so is it impossible to manufacture at a moment's notice the supplies and the equipment without which these men might better not have been called to the colors. Perhaps the most pressing need for reserve *matériel*, as General Leonard Wood pointed out in his last annual report to the Secretary of War, is for the prompt provision by Congress of the remaining field artillery guns which the army regards as necessary, and for ammunition enough both for the guns which we now possess and those which are in process

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of manufacture. With this recommendation of the Chief of Staff The Outlook is in hearty sympathy.

Still another need of our army is legislation, such as has already been worked out for the navy, to eliminate the unfit officer and to stimulate the efficient officer to continued effort through establishing a condition under which progress in rank and command will have a close relationship with capacity, fitness, and accomplishment. Promotion by seniority alone kills ambition.

Another step which has been taken with a view to promoting the efficiency of our military establishment and a closer union between the organized militia in the several States and the regular army is the introduction into Congress of a Militia Pay Bill. This bill provides that the personnel of the State militia shall receive direct payment from the Federal Government. Many believe that there are such grave possibilities for abuse in this bill that it should not be adopted as a part of our National policy of defense without long and exhaustive discussion. The chief argument advanced against this bill is that it is the first step towards building up a military party in the United States, and towards a repetition of the scandals attendant upon our present pension system. The General Staff of the army is in favor of such a bill, provided that the militia receiving Federal pay be made surely and promptly available when required by the Federal Government, and that no direct Federal pay be given the militia unless the law which authorizes such payment prescribes as a requisite for its receipt that the militia shall have fully reached the standards fixed by the War Department. Certainly if our State militiamen are to be paid by the Federal Government—and under present conditions there is much to be said for the inauguration of such a system—they should be forced to conform in every particular to the demands of the regular army.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR MEXICO

By raising the embargo on the transportation of arms into Mexico, President Wilson has done nothing inconsistent with his policy of "watchful waiting." He has not taken any aggressive step; he has simply removed a barrier. The raising of the embargo is not an act of intervention. Indeed, if there was anything approaching intervention, it was in erecting, not in removing, that barrier.

In allowing the transportation of arms into Mexico for the use of the revolutionists as well as for the forces of Huerta, President Wilson has, however, not done anything, has not professed to do anything, to meet American responsibility for the protection of the lives and property of foreigners in Mexico. Indeed, if the raising of the embargo has had any effect on the responsibility of the United States, it has increased rather than diminished it; for the more arms there are the more fighting there will be, and the more fighting there is the more danger to foreign lives and foreign property, and therefore the more acute will become the question how the United States Government is to answer to its own people and to other governments for the safety of those whom it is bound to protect.

This question exists because the United States, by the Monroe Doctrine, has let European powers know that any attempt to extend their control over territory in this hemisphere will be regarded as an unfriendly act. Consequently, these powers cannot really take effective measures for protecting their own citizens or subjects. The moral responsibility of the United States itself to protect those citizens and subjects to whom is denied the protection of their own governments is plain.

There is one simple method of getting rid of this question. That is, by abandoning the Monroe Doctrine, and by notifying all Americans in Mexico that they need no longer look to their own Government for protection. This would have been a consistent policy, if it had been adopted. It has not been adopted, and there is no possibility that it will be.

The alternative to non-action ought not to be hesitation or vacillation, but vigorous and positive action. This does not necessarily mean armed intervention. We believe that armed intervention, in fact, is invited by hesitation, and is most surely avoided by action that is positive and vigorous.

We wish that the United States Government would communicate with the Governments of the three great republics of South America—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile—and invite them to advise with us as to what course should be pursued for securing, not only peace, but also justice, in Mexico. Even if those countries should decline to participate in any joint action in Mexico, they would, we are

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sure, gladly give us their counsel, and assure us their support in any action which we might undertake in consequence of their advice. It is time that these stable republics of South America should be dissociated in our minds and in the minds of the world from the more turbulent countries of South and Central America. By taking them into our counsels on the matter of Mexico, we should serve the double purpose of impressing upon Mexico our firm determination to meet our responsibility in that country and of making use of the Monroe Doctrine as a doctrine of Pan-American friendship.

A PARABLE

A WAS the owner of a large estate, the produce of which found its way to market, as did that of the neighboring farms, by a circuitous road that skirted a swampy tract lying between them and the railway station. He also owned woodland on the farther side of the swamp which supplied him with fuel and timber used on his own premises, this traffic being subject to the same inconvenience of transport.

For a long time the building of a road across this tract, which was held by an inefficient owner, was deemed impracticable. Notwithstanding, F, an enterprising neighbor, finally bought the right of way and began the work, but abandoned it as too costly and difficult. Then A purchased the right and paid for the work already done, with the purpose to complete it himself.

At this juncture B, the largest proprietor in all that region, who also represented the interests of the other farmers, rivals of A in the markets reached by the railway, demanded that they all should have equal rights with A in the shorter access to the railway. He also presented a claim, which A acknowledged, to share in the building of the road, but renounced it on condition that none of the farmers should be discriminated against in the use of it or in the cost of its maintenance.

When A had completed the road, at immense expense, he formulated a plan for meeting these costs by tolls. He proposed to lay this tax, in equal measure, upon all who should use this shorter way to market as their just contribution to a work from which they were to receive great advantage with himself, but without further risk or expense to them. He had disbursed sums so large that the mere interest on them could not be paid from tolls for a long period, if ever; but it was not his purpose or expectation to get his money back by this means. He would be content with his large share in the improved facilities in reaching market. He did not imagine that he was bound, in order to be impartial, when supplying himself with timber and fuel from his own farm beyond the swamp, to pay for the use of his own road in addition to the burden he had already assumed. For in no sense was he his neighbor's rival in this domestic traffic.

But when B heard of this plan he protested that it involved unfair discrimination and the breaking of a solemn pledge. A should keep his word at whatever cost to himself; all who should use the road for whatever purpose must pay for the use of it.

A replied that his advantage in using the road without payment, for domestic purposes within his own territory, was more apparent than real; in fact, no advantage whatever over the others, since he did not exempt from toll his own carriage of produce to and from the railway, only that from one part of his estate to another. Such carriage was simply for the improvement of his farm and exclusively his own affair. It did not affect their common rivalry in the market. Moreover, his exemption was more than offset by his sacrifices in building the road, and they could not say that the tolls proposed were excessive. Nor was he bound in honor to accept their interpretation of his promise of "impartial treatment."

They then proposed arbitration. After great difficulty in finding a disinterested judge of the situation, all parties agreed to consult H, an old farmer who lived in a remote district. His verdict was as follows:

"B's claim is founded on a literal interpretation of the words of the agreement, but is contrary to its spirit and intention, and is therefore a perversion of justice. You farmers are not handicapped in your rivalry with A, and have no grievance on that score. You cannot complain if he uses the road for domestic purposes, for they do not concern you, even indirectly; no more than would his payment of high or low wages to his employees.

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You do not claim that the tolls are excessive, and you should remember that, counting the interest on the cost of the road, he already bears the largest share of the expense of maintenance.

"However, A has overlooked one just claim to use the road for a like purpose with himself. C also owns land beyond the swamp, and A ought to exempt from toll that portion of his traffic employed in home improvement. He is bound in honor to do this, and both B and C, all of you, are equally bound in honor not to demand more. I will not believe that you farmers are such hogs that each of you wants all the swill there is in the trough."

C. W. J.

[The discerning will recognize the swamp as the Isthmus, the swamp road as the Canal, and A, B, C, F, and H as, respectively, America (the United States), Great Britain, Canada, France, and the Hague Tribunal. Editorial comment on the Canal tolls question is to be found on page 392.—THE EDITORS.]

THE COPPER-MINE OWNERS' SIDE

IN The Outlook for January 31 there was published an article by Miss Inis Weed entitled "The Reasons Why the Copper Miners Struck." This article presented the point of view of the striking miners with what seems to us to be sympathy and understanding. In an editorial accompanying that article we said that the mine-owners would not agree with her statement of the case or regard it as adequate. We published it because we believed that such men as these strikers have a right to be heard, and that unless their feelings are given voice in reputable publications they will be expressed in ways that will increase misunderstanding and bitterness. We believe that our readers welcome such an opportunity to know how such men, usually inarticulate, feel.

In accordance with The Outlook's principle that both sides in such a controversy should be heard, we communicated with Mr. Quincy A. Shaw, President of the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company, and requested from him a statement of the owners' side. Mr. Shaw courteously acceded to our request, and his statement is printed below. In order that our readers may understand certain references in his statement, we here restate in condensed form the four points which we made in the editorial that appeared in the same issue with Miss Weed's article:

1. Refusal to recognize a specific union may be not only the right of an employer but a duty. If the employer has reason to believe that the union which demands recognition is a lawless, criminal organization, he is not only under no obligation to recognize it, but he is under moral obligation either to assure himself that it is not criminal or to refuse to have any dealings with it. . . . We do not say that the Western Federation of Miners is a criminal organization, or even that it is devoted to the injury of the interests of the employer; but if the mine-owners have reason to believe this (and the earlier history of the Western Federation is such as to give some ground for this belief), the mine-owners cannot be blamed for refusing to recognize it. . . .

2. . . . If employers have a right to organize and act together, employees have a right to organize and act together. The employer who refuses to recognize a particular union on moral grounds is, by his refusal, bound to co-operate with his employees in securing a proper organization.

3. Much as we approve welfare work undertaken by corporations on behalf of their employees, . . . we cannot recognize such welfare work . . . as a substitute for justice in the relations between employer and employee.

4. . . . If it is true, as we believe it is true, that the wage-earners have been willing to submit their case to arbitration by the authorities of the Federal Government, and the mine-owners have declined to do so, the burden of proof rests upon the mine-owners. If the side that refuses does so on the ground that the tribunal is not impartial, its refusal is not convincing until it proposes a tribunal that will be recognized as impartial.

We now present Mr. Shaw's statement:

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE CALUMET AND HECLA MINING COMPANY

I have your telegram of February 9 and have read the article written by Miss Weed and published in The Outlook January 31, 1914. I cannot agree with the editors' comment that "equally evident also is the desire to present the matter fairly." I have always supposed that it was the duty of an investigator to present facts. In this case Miss Weed's capacity or fairness as an investigator appears to me to be most clearly shown when she accuses Mr. MacNaughton of the meanest motives. She says, "The tradition goes that when James MacNaughton

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took charge of the great Calumet and Hecla mine he said he would teach people to eat potato parings." The facts are that since Mr. MacNaughton took charge in 1901 the wages in all departments have been raised 22½ per cent and the hours of labor in various branches have been reduced from one to two hours. This alone stamps her article for what it is worth.

I wish also to comment on the four points which The Outlook of the same date presents editorially as pertaining to our situation.

1. The managers of the various mines believe that the Western Federation of Miners is such an organization as you describe. It entered this community with a notorious record for disorder, brutality, and crime, and its constitution and by-laws enunciate principles both immoral and un-American. It has confirmed that reputation during the present strike by a continuous policy of intimidation, coercion, and murder. The management believes it a duty not to recognize the Federation and believes it dangerous and unfair to employ its members, when the great majority (ninety-six per cent) of the employees and practically the whole community express the same views.

2. I cannot agree with you on this point, but I can say that Professor Agassiz and my father attempted to carry out a union among the men in a far broader sense—that is, a union of employees and employer. As to how successfully such a plan worked is shown by nearly forty years of peace and quiet and mutually friendly relations, without even a lawsuit for personal injury, until this set of foreign agitators attempted to raid a prosperous and contented community. That such relations still obtain and are desired by our men is shown by the fact that more than eighty per cent of the forty-one hundred employees before the strike are working to-day; and that since the strike a thousand new men have joined the force, believing in the fairness of the treatment they will receive, in spite of the villainous lies and misrepresentations of the agitators and some would-be investigators. It is significant also that, of the men in our employ in 1871, one hundred and eleven, or about twenty-five per cent, are still working for us.

3. For the six months ending June 30, 1913, the average wages of miners were $3.59 per day, and for trammers $2.97. Taking into consideration the cost of rent, food, and fuel, these wages are as high as, if not higher than, in any other copper mine in the country. The so-called "welfare" work that has been done is a thing apart from the above wages and is an expression of a desire to add to the comfort and education of the employees.

4. When we refused to recognize the Western Federation of Miners and refused to employ its members for the reasons given under paragraph No. 1, why should we consent to arbitrate with such an organization? You suggest that the strikers were willing to submit the question to arbitration by the authorities of the Federal Government, meaning, I presume, the officers of the Department of Labor. We did refuse the good offices of the Secretary of Labor, Mr. Wilson, as arbiter, not because we feared an impartial investigation, but because we will have nothing whatever to do with the Federation, and, furthermore, because we did not consider Secretary Wilson an impartial judge. That we were fully justified in our estimate of Mr. Wilson must be apparent to any one who has read his speech to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor at Seattle, in which he said:

"*Mr. President and Fellow Trade-Unionists:* . . . There can be no mediation, there can be no conciliation between employer and employee, that does not presuppose collective bargaining, and there cannot be collective bargaining that does not presuppose trade-unionism."

As further evidence of Secretary Wilson's unfitness as arbiter in this case, I can state that in giving to the press on January 10 what purported to be a summary of the findings of his investigators respecting the Calumet strike, he misrepresented to the American people the actual result of the investigation by his own Department. In proof of this last statement, I inclose a sheet giving quotations and data on Secretary Wilson's press statements and Investigator Palmer's report.

QUINCY A. SHAW,
President Calumet and Hecla
Calumet, Michigan. Mining Company.

Mr. Shaw's memorandum, which gives quotations from Secretary Wilson's press statements and Investigator Palmer's report, it is not necessary to quote in full. A quotation is made from the statement to the press by the Department of Labor, in which reference is made to a number of "minor riots" during the first two days of the strike,

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and in which it is said that it is not shown that the strikers used any firearms or other dangerous weapons. In contrast with this statement are quoted statements from Investigator Palmer's report, in which mention is made of "serious riots" and the use of rocks and clubs, and cases where men were roughly handled, and instances where injuries occurred sufficiently serious for hospital treatment.

One point of Mr. Shaw's letter is touched upon in a letter which has come to us from Mr. William S. Hill, an attorney of Marquette, Michigan. He refers to the tradition cited by Miss Weed that Mr. MacNaughton said, when he took charge of the great Calumet and Hecla Mines, that he would teach people to eat potato parings. Mr. Hill says that Mr. MacNaughton took charge "some fifteen or eighteen years ago" (Mr. Shaw says in 1901); and Mr. Hill adds, "Supposing it to be true that that is the tradition in the copper country, and supposing that Miss Weed heard it and believed it, yet if she intended to be fair would she not have undertaken to find some facts which would indicate that Jim MacNaughton had undertaken to carry out his declared intention?"

Several readers have written to us in protest against Miss Weed's article. One, the Rev. William Reid Cross, rector of Trinity Church in Houghton, Michigan, declares in the course of his letter that "the mining companies of Michigan have been fighting a great battle for civilization, and against some of the most unscrupulous and diabolical forces that are at work in our Nation to-day." From the letters that have come to us we select two for publication because they represent the views of men who have been employees in the mines. The first of these two is from one who is still a mine employee:

AS IT LOOKS TO ONE EMPLOYEE

I have just read with indignation Miss Weed's article, in The Outlook for January 31, on "The Reason Why the Copper-Miners Struck." Then I turned to your editorial on the same subject, and was relieved to read a fair-minded comment on the situation, which I expected it would be as a matter of course. There is one point, however, upon which the writer of the editorial may not be informed, and that is in regard to the mine-owners' refusal to arbitrate.

For about five years the Western Federation of Miners has conducted a systematic campaign in the copper country to get the workers discontented and ready for this strike. This has all been done by outside paid agitators who have not been workers here, nor have they had the real interest of the workers at heart. I know this has been a campaign of falsehood and misrepresentation. The "Miners' Bulletin," which they have published during the strike, is notoriously full of falsehood. We all know it here.

Those still on strike are simply misled and we are sorry for them, not resentful toward them. They are the least intelligent of our people, as a rule, only a very small proportion of them being able to read English. Also many of them are afraid to leave the union, knowing what has happened to others who did.

The great majority of us who are employed by the companies do not want the Western Federation of Miners recognized in any way. We know what they are. If the officers of the union represented bona-fide workers and were themselves workers instead of being in the pay of an outside criminal organization, I think they would get a hearing. They ought to. ROBERT MCINTOSH.

Calumet, Michigan.

The letter which follows, like Mr. McIntosh's, indicates that not all the bitter feeling is between employees and employers, but that some of the bitterness of feeling against the strikers is shared by men who have been miners themselves:

WHAT A MINE SURGEON HAS SEEN

Before I studied medicine I worked as a common laborer at any job I could get. I have worked on a farm, tugboat, in the lumber woods, in sawmills, and various factories. I have lived for eight years in the coal district of Pennsylvania, two years around iron mines in New York, and for fourteen years was mine surgeon in the Michigan copper district. I have served as chief surgeon to five different copper mines. I have traveled a little and am more or less familiar with the conditions of labor from New Mexico north and east to the Atlantic. Were I forced back to manual labor to-day I would go underground in the Michigan copper district in preference to any other place I know because *conditions of life are better and easier for the laborer there, and he has a far better chance to secure advancement than in any other place of which I have knowledge.*

It is now eight years since I left the copper

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country, but conditions have not changed. I have before me a letter from a friend in Cleveland who for many years worked at various large copper mines in Michigan. He says: "These tales that are written up by some one who has been in that country for a week or two are funny reading to people who lived there as long as you and I did, for we know that no one can get a full knowledge of that district in all its various phases without living there for a year or more right in the midst of it." He is right. The tales are funny if considered as tales only, but when a journal of your standing prints them as facts it is serious, as they breed misunderstanding and cause most serious injustice to an important industry.

Your author states many half-truths in such a manner as to make them the worst kind of a lie. I have seen bosses kick and maul men underground, but it was because the man went to work drunk after being told to stay out, after he had not only endangered his own life but many of his mates. Your author states that the mines are owned in New England. It is true that the control is held there, but much of the stock is owned by men working underground in the mines. The thrifty ones save their money and many of them become independent.

Out of many experiences I will relate one, as the man is a fair sample of those now on strike in the copper district. As a result of disobeying positive orders, leaving his own work and going into a part of the mine where he had no business, he had his thigh broken. The company was under no obligation to care for that man. It was my duty as mine surgeon to give him professional service. The company gave him house-rent and fuel, and paid him half wages until such time as I said he was able to work. They also paid a man to stay with him and care for him for several weeks. I set the thigh and forbade any whisky in the house. In less than an hour three gallons of whisky had been carried into the house, and, when I called later in the day, the man had torn off all dressings and splints, rolled out of bed on the floor, where I found him dead drunk with the man employed to care for him. This occurred many days in succession. When given crutches he would get drunk, throw the crutches away, and stagger around with that callus soft and yielding. Several times he lay out in the storm all night, drunk. In spite of all this, he got a very useful leg, which did not prevent his regular work. When I reported him able to work, the company offered him an easy job for a few weeks until he was able to take a machine. He refused it because it was a boy's job; insisted the company pay him full time, etc. Later he sued the company for $20,000 damages, and the case was properly thrown out of court. This is the type of man who is now on strike in the copper district of Michigan.

It is true that the mines own all the land they can get near the mines and will give but short-term leases. I have known a mine to buy much land, which it did not need, for no other purpose than to prevent the establishment of a saloon near the mine. The mining companies will do more to make a house comfortable and attractive to a decent tenant than any other landlord I have ever known; but if the tenant runs a "blind tiger," he is not only fired, but life is made a burden to him so far as possible as long as he stays in that locality. It is my personal opinion that if there were no saloons in the copper district there would be no trouble there now.

W. C. GATES.

Bucyrus, Ohio.

In the editorial which accompanied Miss Weed's article we stated that we did not undertake to pass upon the issues involved. We do not undertake to pass upon those issues now. The strike is the subject of investigation by Federal authorities; we shall not undertake to anticipate their findings. Two things, however, are clear to us: First, from all the testimony that we have heard and read, there is little doubt in our minds that, so far as a system of industrial antagonism, not to say war, allows, the general conditions of the miners in the Superior district are above the average for mining communities. They are evidently as good as any, and a great deal better than many. Second, the issue at Calumet is typical. So long as industry is maintained on a feudalistic basis in a democratic country there will continue to be industrial disturbances. The feudalism may be a beneficent feudalism, and the democracy may be an unwise and intemperate democracy, but there is no chance that the country will become feudalistic. The only way by which such industrial conflicts can be prevented is by a process which will make industry, like the rest of American life, democratic.

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LEAVES FROM A LAWYER'S REMINISCENCES

BY THERON G. STRONG

OF THE NEW YORK BAR

The present article is the first of four papers entitled, respectively, "The Modern Lawyer," "The Modern Law Office," "Sources of Business," and "Fees, Regular and Contingent," which Mr. Strong will contribute to The Outlook. These impressions will not only interest the author's contemporaries, but will, we believe, be especially suggestive and helpful to the young lawyer just beginning practice. They are naturally only a partial record of Mr. Strong's long and varied experience as a practicing lawyer which are embraced in a volume entitled "Landmarks of a Lawyer's Lifetime" to be published in the spring by Messrs. Dodd, Mead & Co., of New York.—THE EDITORS.

I—THE MODERN LAWYER

TWO important factors have, I think, been influential in the production of the lawyer of to-day as distinguished from the lawyer of forty years ago. Up to that time, for over two centuries, the type of lawyer, his office, education, training, professional experience, and character of employment, remained very much the same. He was distinctly and purely professional as distinguished from commercial. There were practically two classes of lawyers—the office lawyer engaged in real estate, conveyancing, settlement of estates, drawing wills and contracts; and the litigating lawyer, whose business was in common law cases and equity suits, with a sprinkling of actions for personal injuries. I might add, as a third class, the admiralty and patent lawyers. The bar of the city of New York was essentially American, with a slight admixture of foreign elements, which, however, was a very small percentage of the whole.

Following the year 1870 a transition began through the influx of foreigners. While there had been previously a goodly number of Irish lawyers, they became more numerous, but their number increased by no means in the same proportion as that of other races. The Jewish lawyers seemed then to be few in proportion to the whole, but their increase has been extraordinary and almost overwhelming—so much so as to make it appear that their numbers are likely to predominate, while the introduction of their characteristics and methods has made a deep impression upon the bar as it is to-day. Germans also, but in fewer numbers, and Italians in larger numbers than the Germans, have had their influence in the transition which has taken place. The Jewish lawyer has almost completely absorbed the large volume of commercial and bankruptcy practice; the Jews, Irish, and Germans are employed in large numbers in the prosecution of negligence cases, while Italians are closely identified with the professional work which the tremendously increasing numbers of Italians has produced. These various elements and their varied characteristics have to be taken into account, because they include acute and skillful as well as at times highly accomplished lawyers, adapted for practice accordingly, while their influence has been such as to give them an extensive representation upon the bench.

There are few more remarkable instances of change in the practice of the law than that which has occurred within the past thirty years through the incursion of the money-making power into the domain of the lawyer. It was hardly to be expected that the possibilities of generous money returns from an effective organization in which business activity, in one form or another, involved professional service by the trained lawyer should escape the avaricious eyes of purely financial interests. The result is that in several directions professional work, formerly distributed among lawyers, has been almost completely absorbed by corporations that combine the transaction of ordinary business with the performance of legal services incident to the same. No code of ethics interferes with their active solicitation of business, nor with their

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advertising extensively for the purpose of attracting patronage. They are at liberty to employ agents to solicit business and to hold out inducements, pecuniary and otherwise, and, in short, to employ all sorts of commercial methods to induce the placing of business in their charge.

The most striking instance of change in the practice of the law is that which relates to real estate. Until thirty years ago all of the business connected with titles to real estate was transacted by lawyers, and in every firm of considerable importance one member of it, at least, devoted himself to the department of real estate, and some offices were almost exclusively occupied with it.

Probably four-fifths of the work of this description is now performed by the title insurance companies. The client turns over his contract for purchase to the title company, whose staff of meagerly paid lawyers—whom the client never sees—examines the title, and the liberal fees go, not to the lawyers, but to the company, and thence in dividends to the stockholders. In the case of a loan on bond and mortgage, the borrower goes direct to the company, which lends him its own funds, receiving a large fee for examining the title, and then sells the bond and mortgage to an investor, insuring its collection for ten per cent of the income, and, whether insured or not, if it is not paid when due, conducts the foreclosure proceedings, receiving in costs and allowances a further liberal compensation.

Another direction in which ordinary law business has been absorbed by corporations is that of organizing corporations for business purposes. The purposes for which corporations may now be organized by not less than three individuals have been so enlarged that a business corporation may be organized for almost any form of legitimate business possible for the human brain to devise. It will be readily understood, therefore, that the organization of these corporations has formed an important part of the lawyer's practice; and, as in the case of real estate, corporations are now organized for the purpose of creating corporations, not only under the general laws but under the laws of other States, and of attending to various details of corporate management necessary to be observed in complying with the laws under which they are organized. These corporations undoubtedly provide a cheap and easy way of organizing a corporation, but it is not seldom the case that the cheap and easy method has proved the most expensive in the long run.

Another instance of the absorption of the lawyer's practice by corporations is that of the defense of negligence cases. The organization of employers' liability insurance companies to insure against liability for accidents of every description, undertaking under their policies to defend the policy-holder in case of a claim for damages, has resulted in the absorption by these companies of the defense of negligence cases, and has practically removed this class of business from the sphere of ordinary law practice. It is necessary, of course, that these companies should appear by an attorney, usually employed on a salary, but the policy-holder who commits the defense of the action brought against him after an injury has occurred to the company, as provided in the policy, has little more to do with the matter, and has no control whatever over the lawyer who will represent him on the trial.

Then, again, corporate interests of every description which have been the outgrowth of the development of our natural resources have produced an ever-increasing number of lawyers whose business is rarely in the courts, and frequently scarcely in line with regular professional employment. Their business resembles that of promoters, lending themselves to schemes of every description likely to extract financial support from the too confiding public, and proceeds through the process of corporate organization, followed more often than not by receivership or bankruptcy proceedings, only to be built up again by skillfully devised plans of reorganization ending—no one knows where. This is a class of lawyers frequently found at the head, or among the chief executive officers, of railways, trust companies, banks, insurance companies, and industrial corporations, or as partners in large private banking houses. It may be stated that attached to every one of these forms of business activity there is a lawyer, under the title of vice-president, general counsel, or solicitor, under a generous salary, or as partner, who forms as much a part of the regular staff of employees as any cashier or office-boy. In addition to these staff lawyers it is common practice among important business interests to secure the services of a lawyer, or firm of lawyers, upon an annual retainer, which more often than not calls for a maximum amount of service at a minimum

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rate of compensation, and under which the recipient becomes little more than a paid employee, bound hand and foot to the service of his employer. In the instances referred to there is such a proprietary right in the lawyer that he is almost completely deprived of free moral agency and is open at least to the inference that he is virtually owned and controlled by the client he serves.

In fact, many of the best-equipped lawyers of the present day are to all intents and purposes owned by the great corporate and individual interests they represent; and while enormous fees result, they are dearly earned by the surrender of individual independence. These influences have had a tendency to diminish respect for the lawyer as such.

Racial and commercial influences have in the process of evolution brought about marked and important changes in professional characteristics, methods, and standards, which, combined with the larger professional emolument to be derived from what may be termed "commercial activity," have resulted in such a transformation that the lawyer of forty years ago would scarcely recognize his professional brother of to-day.

The beginning of the modern lawyer, so far as his introduction to practice is concerned, is much the same as it always has been. Like every other employment of lasting value, there are the long years of preparation and patient waiting, the long hours of hard work, small compensation, and little pay, until a foothold is secured to climb to professional eminence, with the pecuniary reward which accompanies it.

In these days of strenuous competition it is more than ever important that the modern lawyer should have a keen eye to recognize an opportunity when he sees it. It has been wittily observed that a man's success or failure depends on whether he seizes the steed "opportunity" by the forelock or the fetlock. No more instructive words upon this subject are, I think, to be found than the expressive lines of the late Senator Ingalls in his little poem entitled "Opportunity:"

"Master of human destinies am I:
Fame, love, and fortune on my footsteps wait.
Cities and fields I walk. I penetrate
Deserts and seas remote, and, passing by
Hovel and mart and palace, soon or late
I knock unbidden once at every gate.

If sleeping, wake—if feasting, rise before
I turn away! It is the hour of fate,
And they who follow me reach every state
Mortals desire, and conquer every foe
Save death. But those who doubt or hesitate,
Condemned to failure, penury, and woe,
Seek me in vain and uselessly implore;
I answer not, and I return no more."

But all the preparation and opportunity in the world will amount to but little unless the young modern lawyer is ready for anything and afraid of nothing, with no hesitation as to assuming responsibility, and ability to carry it after assuming it. Then, although he cannot expect always to be successful, he will have shown at least that he has acted well his part.

The most valuable asset of a lawyer is, of course, his experience, and in the course of preparation various avenues of exceptional value present themselves. If it is as a court lawyer, it is not necessary now, as in former days, to acquire the requisite court experience through a long period of scattered and perhaps infrequent cases, for the great public offices, such as the Corporation Counsel, the United States and State District Attorneys, the legal departments of the various railways, employers' liability insurance or financial corporations, or the litigation department of some large office, will furnish abundant means of acquiring valuable experience.

The modern lawyer generally favors practice in a partnership, and I think it may be generally accepted as true that the volume of business which can be transacted by a well-constituted partnership will be at least one-third more than the combined volume of business of each individual member of that firm practicing separately; but the young modern lawyer cannot consider too carefully the partnership into which he enters. Personal characteristics, habits, social position, and moral tendencies are of the utmost importance as affecting intercourse between partners, quite as much so as professional attainments and the ability to practice law successfully, for the latter without the former cannot make a partnership truly successful.

No greater mistake, then, can be made at the outset of one's career than to enter hastily and without deliberation and careful consideration into a law partnership. Some men are created to be good partners, and to some a partnership relation is an impossibility. This was, I think, the case with Mr. Charles O'Conor, who, although so wonderful in himself as a lawyer, was not suited to the practice of law in partnership. On the other hand, Mr. Evarts, through nearly all

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his legal career, was at the head of a leading partnership into which he entered at the beginning of his practice and in which he continued until its close.

Whatever direction he may pursue, the modern lawyer will find separate departments in the great offices, each identified with some special line of practice—corporations, real estate, litigations, surrogate proceedings, including wills and trusts, as well as others, sometimes making the modern law office resemble one of the large department stores where many distinct lines of business are conducted under the same management. Then, for the real estate lawyer, there are the title companies which employ almost an army of lawyers; and, for the corporation lawyer, corporations whose business it is to organize and attend to the legal details of corporate organization.

The ability to conduct a business negotiation successfully has always been a highly esteemed qualification of lawyers, but it was never more important than at present. Any lawyer who has this gift can make it the most important and remunerative part of his practice. It is a wise old saying that "a good settlement is better than a poor lawsuit." Business men at the present day want skillful adjustment of their business controversies and complications. Litigation is so slow and expensive that it does not pay, even with the most favorable result; and this has led to arbitration committees in connection with all the mercantile exchanges. Again, there are the large combinations and consolidations of business interests and the reorganizations, with conflicting sets of security-holders, which require skillful handling by able negotiators. This has given rise to a large array of able lawyers of this particular class, some the most flourishing practitioners in the profession.

One of the greatest defects in the young modern lawyer is the absence of an accomplishment in oratory. Why are the days of cultivation in oratory departed? Why have no efforts been made to perpetuate the oratorical gifts of Pinkney, Webster, Rufus Choate, Emmet, Henry, Wirt, O'Conor, and Evarts? The absence of training in oratory in our universities and colleges has brought about a pitiable state of affairs, so far as the modern young lawyer is concerned, and, instead of having been educated to some degree of facility in public utterances while in the formative period of youth, when elocution is best inculcated, he is graduated from his university and enters upon the practice of the law hampered by the want of this training, and forced to educate himself in it through a long period of unpleasant experiences. It is undoubtedly true that the day of long oratorical utterances before the courts and juries has passed, but there can be no doubt that the cultivation of an easy and forcible style of public utterance furnishes a great asset to the modern young lawyer in the opening of his career.

Time is so valuable in disposing of the large volume of litigated business, the courts are so crowded and the judges so overwhelmed by its amount, and they have consequently become so impatient with long-winded utterances, that opportunities are rarely afforded for the oratorical displays of former days, and it is consequently necessary to cultivate a plain, direct, and earnest style, and conciseness and brevity in the presentation of even the most important cases. The man who can say the most good sense and sound law in the shortest time has a decided advantage. Juries are not much influenced by outbursts of eloquence, and appellate tribunals will not tolerate them. A tired and yawning jury will not be likely to take the most favorable view of an advocate's case, and when the attention of an appellate tribunal is lost and the judges begin to converse in whispers or bury themselves in the record, the oral argument is little more than a waste of time. When you have lost attention, you have probably lost your case. Juries and judges have become so accustomed to businesslike methods that they appreciate a simple and clear presentation of the essential facts, each argument in its support clearly stated in a few well-conceived sentences, with no haltings and no revertings to things inadvertently omitted, no fumbling of documents, and no reading from authorities. Such presentations have characterized the foremost modern lawyers, and at least one of the old-time lawyers, Judge Benjamin R. Curtis, of Boston, was distinguished for the brevity of his arguments. Mr. Justice Miller, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in his estimate of Judge Curtis as the greatest lawyer of his time, mentioned that in his most important cases before the Supreme Court of the United States his arguments rarely occupied more than forty minutes in their delivery. Judge Story and Chief Judge Parsons rarely occupied over an hour, and seldom over half an

(Continued on page following illustrations)

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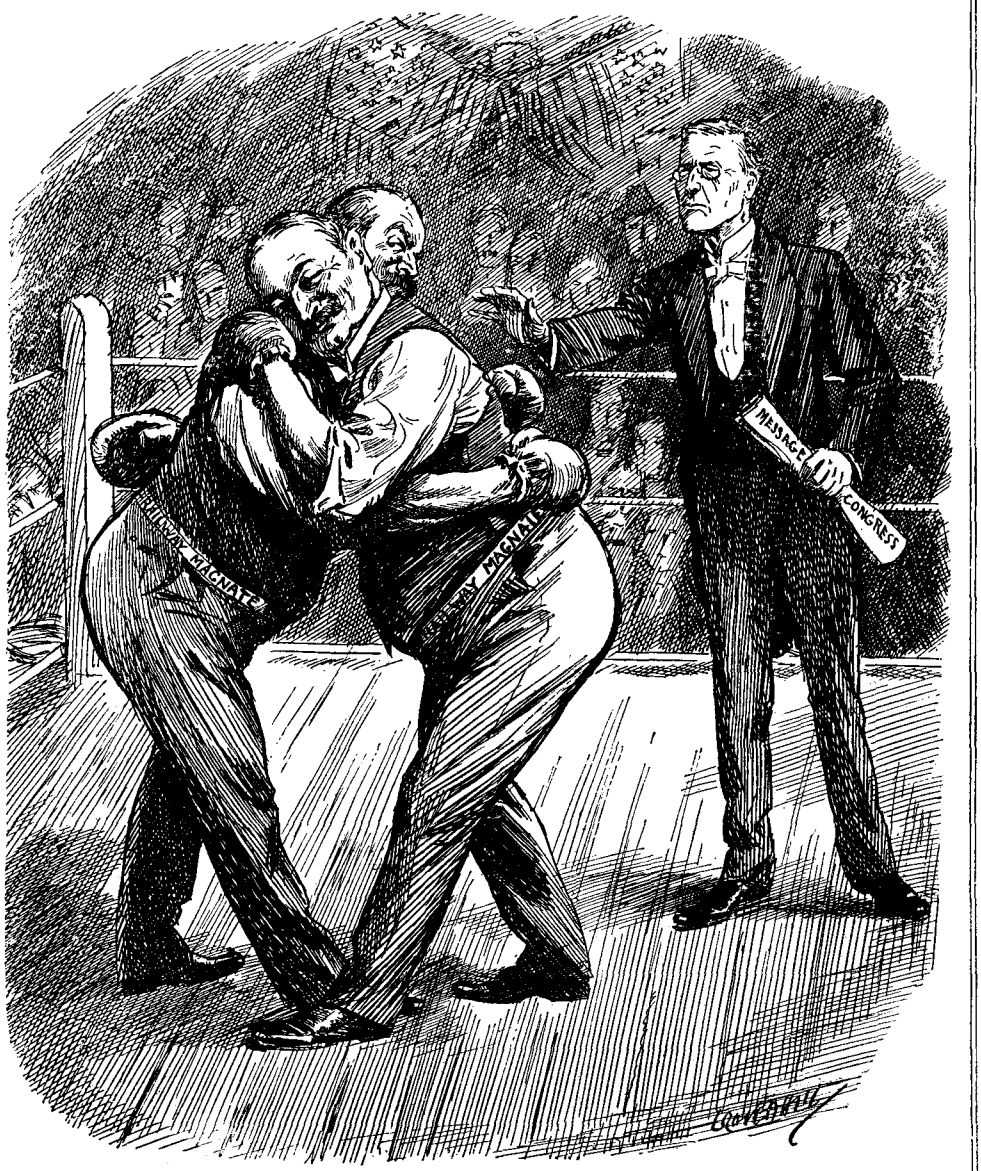
Current Events Pictorially Treated

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—JANUARY 28, 1914.



THE TRUST CLINCH.

PRESIDENT WILSON. "BREAK AWAY THERE, GENTLEMEN!"

[In his Message to Congress upon legislation regarding Trusts, President WILSON advocated "the effectual prohibition of interlocking" amongst great industrial and financial corporations.]

FROM PUNCH

A BRITISH VIEW OF INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES

Mr. Punch would have been nearer the truth if he had represented one of the boxers as a bank director

Editorial comment on the bill to prohibit interlocking directorships will be found on another page

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

PRINCESS SOPHIE OF WIED AND HER DAUGHTER
PRINCESS MARIE ELEANOR

PRINCE WILLIAM OF WIED, WHO HAS ACCEPTED
THE CROWN

THE NEW RULER OF ALBANIA AND HIS WIFE

See editorial pages

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GEORGE E. BUCKNER, THE NEW AMERICAN MINISTER AND CONSUL-GENERAL TO LIBERIA

PHOTOGRAPH BY G. V. BUCK

GABE E. PARKER, THE REGISTER OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY

A NEGRO AND AN INDIAN WHO HAVE BEEN HONORED BY THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

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DOWNTOWN NEW YORK IN ITS EVERY-DAY GARB

The sky-scraper at the right is the Woolworth Building; the high tower in the center is that of the Singer Building

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BROWN BROS.

DOWNTOWN NEW YORK TURNED INTO FAIRYLAND

This view shows the same buildings as those in the picture above, but at night, when the electric lights make the city a wonderful spectacle

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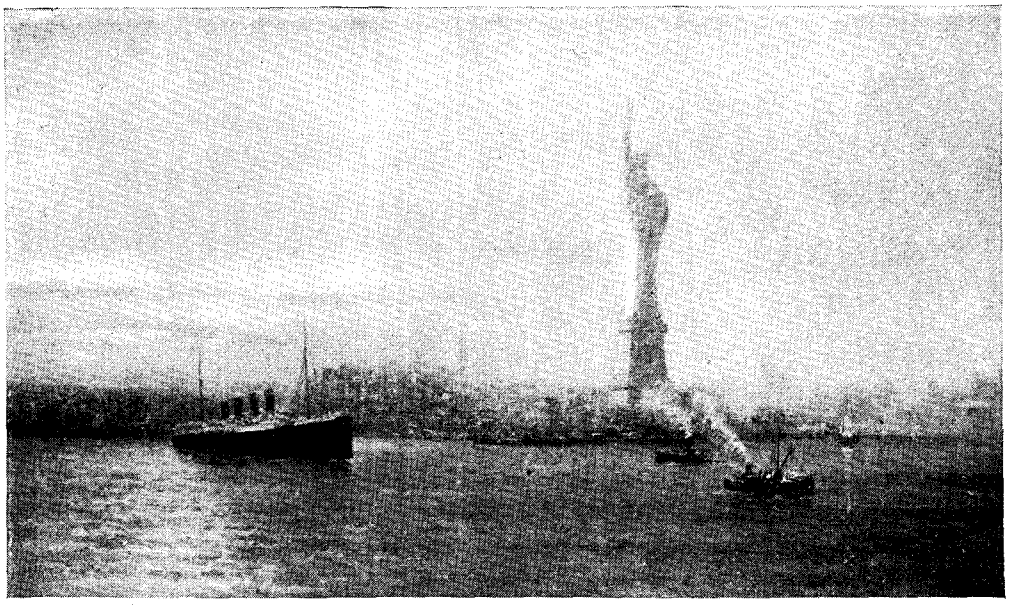
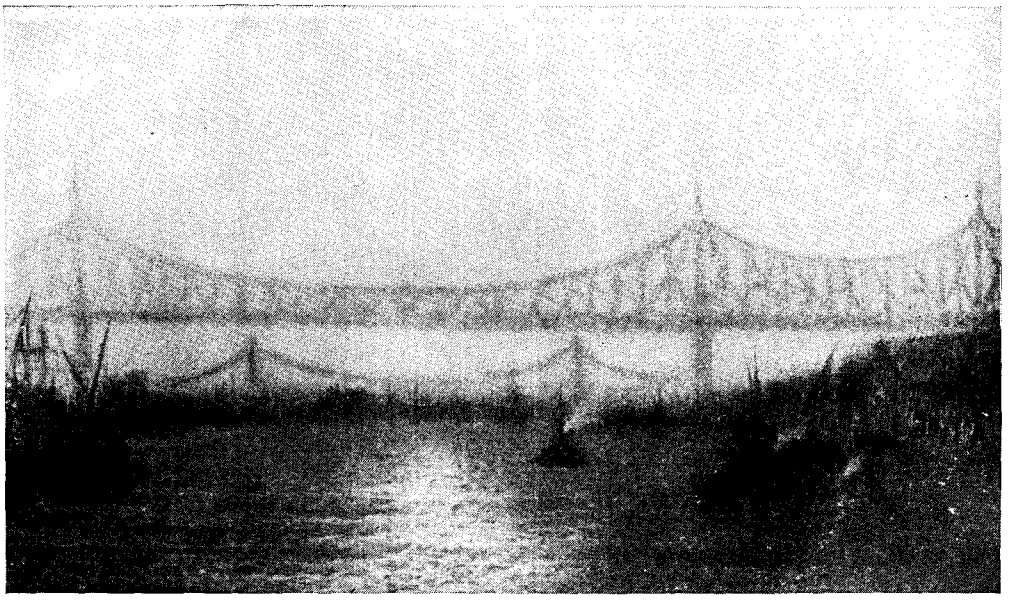


THE HARBOR WITH THE STATUE OF LIBERTY PLACED AS A SYMBOLICAL GUARDIAN OVER THE MIDST OF THE CITY



QUEENSBOROUGH BRIDGE

These two pictures were painted by a Turkish painter, Mr. C. Calusd, who recently gave an exhibition of his works in New York City. The picture at the top of the page has been accepted as worthy of a place in the White House at Washington

CAMERA AND BY AN ORIENTAL ARTIST

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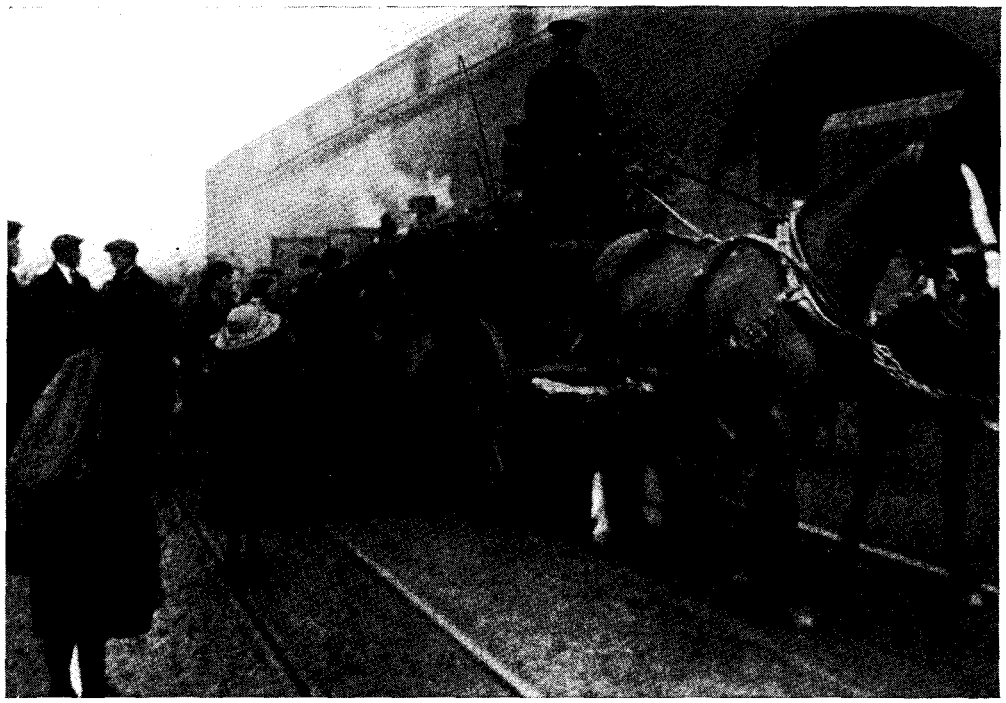

CHILDREN GETTING FUEL FOR HOUSEHOLD USE DURING A COAL STRIKE IN ENGLAND

PHOTOGRAPHS BY AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

WASHING CLOTHES THROUGH A HOLE IN THE ICE IN THE FROZEN ZUIDERZEE

A SEVERE WINTER IN EUROPE

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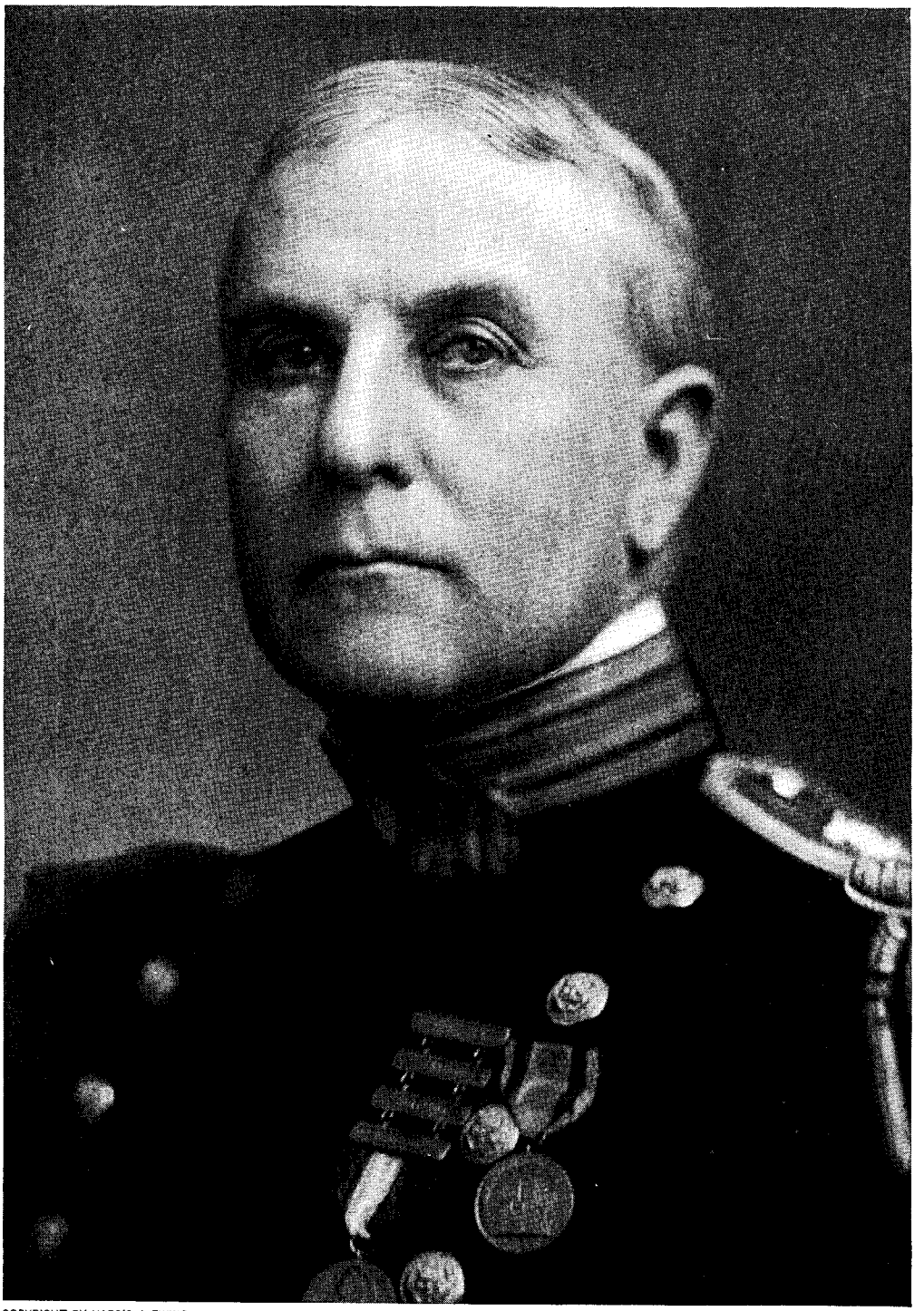

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CAPTAIN WILLIAM F. FULLAM, THE NEW SUPERINTENDENT OF THE UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY AT ANNAPOLIS

Captain Fullam was graduated from the Academy in 1877 at the head of his class and has had twenty years of duty at sea and as head of the department of ordnance at Annapolis. During the Spanish-American War he was watch officer on board the U. S. S. New Orleans on the occasion of the blockade and bombardment of Santiago

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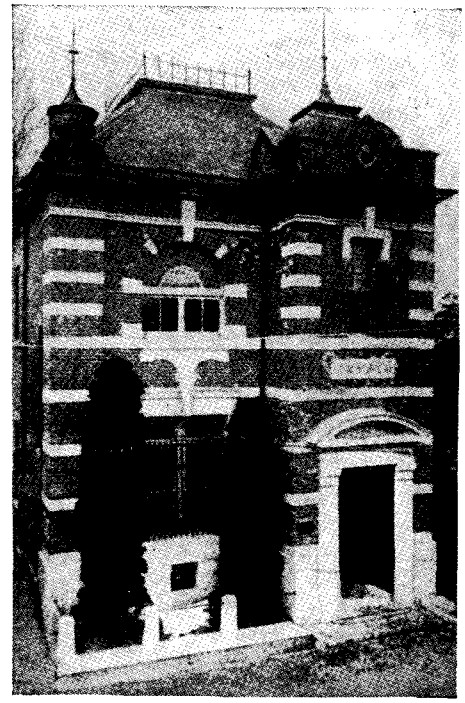
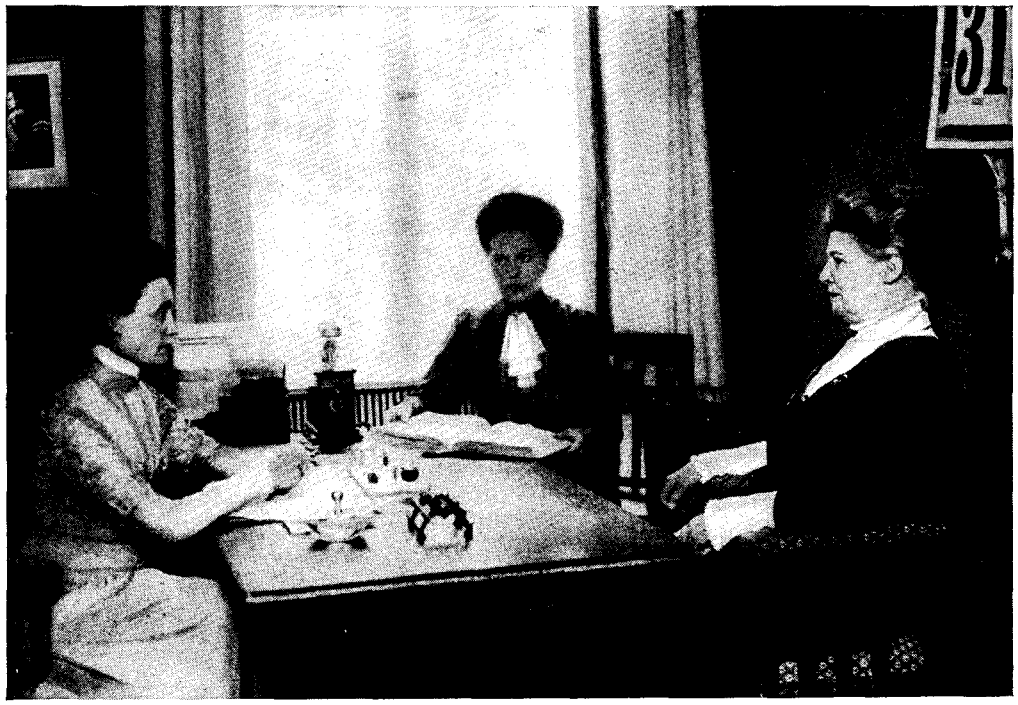
MRS. KIN SENO
President of the Seno Commercial Bank of Tokyo



THE SENO COMMERCIAL BANK OF TOKYO, JAPAN



PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE G. BAIN

OFFICERS OF THE BERLIN WOMEN'S BANK

This bank has just celebrated the fifth anniversary of its organization. It paid a five per cent dividend in 1912, and has assets amounting to $250,000. The bank plans to issue a daily financial paper for women

WOMEN BANKERS OF EUROPE AND ASIA

See editorial pages

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hour. The cultivation of such a style as this will be likely to contribute as much as anything else to the success of the modern lawyer in the courts.

One of the most important arts of the court lawyer is to know when to keep still, and be able to exercise the self-command to do so. Many a case has been won by paying due regard to the attitude of the judge when he essays to combat the views of opposing counsel. The lawyer is indeed wanting in tact and discretion who then assumes any other rôle than that of a spectator of the proceedings. By all means let the judge do your arguing for you if he is so inclined, and if in this way he indicates that he is favorably disposed it is folly to attempt to reinforce his views; even though they could probably be reinforced to advantage, they do not need reinforcement so long as he adheres to them. The moment the court appears favorably inclined to your side of the case is the time to preserve discreet silence. This is equally true with juries, and if in the course of the trial there is the slightest leaning in your favor, then is the time to do as little as possible by objections or long cross-examinations, which can only have a tendency to lead the court and jury to think that you consider it necessary to strengthen your case when it needs no strengthening, the only effect being to counteract the favorable impression that has been made. Many a case has been spoiled by an inability to recognize the appropriate time to say nothing.

In a case which occurred some time since there was an important issue as to whether service of a certain process had been made on one of the parties. If it had not been served, the case was lost. The burden of proving that it had not been served was on the party that made that claim. Here was where the art of opposing counsel was exhibited. He recognized that the claim was technical, that the court would look upon it with suspicion, and that it is always exceedingly difficult to prove a negative in matters of that kind. He therefore participated but three times in the course of the investigation. The first was when, at the conclusion of the direct examination of the process-server, the judge asked him if he desired to cross-examine. He answered, "No." Then the party that made the claim of non-service was called and gave his testimony denying the service. At its conclusion the judge again asked counsel whether he desired to cross-examine, and he again answered, "No." The judge then asked him whether he wished to introduce any evidence to support the fact of service, and he, concluding from the attitude of the judge that he was not impressed with the claim, again answered "No." These three "noes" constituted the extent of his participation in this somewhat lengthy proceeding, and the result justified his action, the judge deciding immediately that the service had been made.

When the time comes for the modern young lawyer to launch out upon the sea of professional practice, his natural inclinations will determine at once whether he will pursue his career in the courts or as an office lawyer. And it may be that his predilections in a particular direction will lead him to pursue some specialty. To one, however, whose inclination is toward a court practice, his limit will be as boundless as that of human experience, and his opportunities for the display of intellectual acumen in the preparation of cases for trial, of briefs for use in the appellate tribunals, and the exercise of his gifts in impressing his arguments upon strong minds, will be confined only within the bounds of his usefulness to his clients and his natural ability. While it is doubtless true that the memory of the lawyer is at best fleeting, yet it will be preserved by the appearance of his name in the public reports of cases decided by the courts, by which his career may be followed from his first appearance before these tribunals until he disappears to make his appearance before his final Judge.

The tendency to specialize has been noticeable since early times; for example, court lawyers and office lawyers have always formed two classes, the function of each resulting in a clear separation of the one from the other, which only in rare instances would find a union in one individual. As a result, court lawyers and office lawyers have always been recognized as two great instances of specialization. The country practitioner and the lawyer of moderate practice would naturally combine both functions, but only under compulsion; the tendency is always to separate the two whenever possible, and law partnerships everywhere are made up with this in view.

In England this separation has always existed in the distinction between barrister and solicitor, and even in the case of the barrister the line is sharply drawn—more sharply formerly than now—between barristers occupied in court in the trial and argument of

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causes and those who were special pleaders or engaged in giving opinions, preparing wills, and revising agreements and other important documents. Then, too, there has always been in England, as well as in this country, a distinct class of specialists known as conveyancers, who confine themselves to business pertaining to the transfer of titles to real estate and, as allied to this, the preparation of wills and the settlement of the estates of decedents.

One of the most melancholy things for the modern lawyer is the frequency of disbarment proceedings, resulting often in actual disbarment and perhaps oftener in discipline involving suspension from practice. This is not the place to furnish statistics on this subject, but if any one will scan the lists of decisions of the Appellate Division, in the First Department, he will almost always find proceedings affecting the conduct of attorneys. In addition to this there are the Grievance Committees of the Association of the Bar and of the New York County Lawyers' Association, which are constantly engaged, under the assistance of salaried attorneys employed to do nothing else, in investigating charges of misconduct preferred against lawyers—the function of these committees being to make a preliminary investigation and, if the result of the investigation calls for it, to prefer charges in the name of the Association against the attorney complained of. The number of matters of this description presented to the Grievance Committees and to the courts is almost incredible. This is one the most lamentable features of the present-day practice of the law, notwithstanding that the qualifications for admission to the bar with respect to moral character are more stringent than ever before.

These proceedings show that nothing is more important to lawyers of every class than to keep in mind—particularly to those who are intrusted by estates or individuals with moneys for investment and who collect the income for transmission to their clients, and likewise to those who receive collections in commerical matters—the distinction between *meum et tuum*, the difference between what belongs to one's self and that which belongs to another. The constant handling of other people's money has a tendency to dull that keenness of perception which should always exist respecting the fiduciary or trust relation. The failure to observe this closely has led to the undoing of many a lawyer, and I could cite offhand a considerable number of instances of defalcation, followed by lasting disgrace, of men who occupied high positions in the profession; and unfortunately the annals of the Appellate Division are full of disbarment proceedings which have resulted from the failure to observe the *meum et tuum* distinction. The mere possession of funds belonging to clients offers a strong temptation in times of financial stress to "borrow" for a few days, which is in itself nothing more or less than a misappropriation of trust funds and a clear breach of trust; it matters not that the money is restored and that no harm resulted. The undeniable fact that the "borrowing" was in itself a breach of trust can never be obliterated. It is well to distrust one's self, and many a lawyer would have served himself if he had constantly in mind the consequences of such misappropriation, accompanied with the wish that if he ever should be guilty of such a breach of trust he should be sent to State's prison.

Fortunate indeed is the young lawyer who during the period of preparation has learned to distinguish with absolute clearness between right and wrong, which many seem unable to do. Not only that right and wrong which keeps him within the bounds of legality and protects him from disbarment or indictment, but that right and wrong which is founded upon the immutable principles of justice and fair dealing which a sensitive conscience will approve. I well remember the utterance of my preceptor, Professor Theodore W. Dwight, that "it is essential to a good equity lawyer that he himself should be a good man."

Women are, as a general rule, undesirable clients, although there are noteworthy exceptions. Like the elder Weller, my advice is, "Bevare of the vidders," and, I might add as well, the would-be divorcées. The importance in dealing with them of having everything in black and white was illustrated by a divorce case in my early days, the only one I ever consented to take, in which I came very near getting into considerable trouble.

A few years after I had begun practice, a poor woman connected with one of our philanthropic institutions applied to me to assist her in obtaining a divorce and a reasonable support for herself and her child from her husband, who had deserted her. He was a prosperous machinist, having an independent business, and, although the evi-

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dence of misconduct was satisfactory, the wife was without any evidence of his resources as a basis for awarding alimony. A decree of divorce the husband would welcome, but not a provision for alimony, and this was where the real contest arose. As she was helpless and in poverty, I undertook her case, and, by exercising all the ingenuity of which I was capable, I was finally enabled, with the co-operation of one of the mercantile agency investigators, to get at the extent of the husband's resources, something the wife would never have been able to do. Armed with this evidence, I applied for alimony and secured for her a suitable allowance, together with a moderate allowance for counsel fees. She was delighted with the result, and it only remained to obtain a final decree of divorce with an award of permanent alimony. The divorce part was practically non-contested, and it remained for me again to produce my evidence. This was likely to be a matter of considerable difficulty, and I was greatly relieved, as well as gratified, to receive a proposition not to contest the decree if no increase of alimony was applied for. As I had no evidence upon which I could hope to secure an increase, I communicated the proposition to my client, and she expressed satisfaction with it and authorized me to give the necessary consent. Here is where I made a mistake. I should have had her authorization in writing, but I suspected no aftermath, and proceeded to the entry of the decree. The alimony was promptly paid, and I congratulated myself upon having done a kindly act and won the gratitude of a deserving woman.

Some time after I received a request from her for the papers which I held, and, in my inexperience, unsuspectingly, I sent them to her. What was my surprise to learn from my opponent in the case, a lawyer of very excellent standing, that a motion had been made on behalf of my former client to open the decree for alimony on the ground that the amount was insufficient and that my consent to the temporary alimony being made permanent was without any authority on her behalf; and I was confronted with the affidavits of two individuals besides herself in support of her contention. I had no evidence except my own unsupported statement, and upon this, in the form of an affidavit by me, the motion was opposed. I felt greatly worried and anxious because of the stigma which naturally attaches to a lawyer who has acted in such a matter without the consent of his client, and, as there were three affidavits against one, I awaited the result with a great deal of foreboding. The late Justice George C. Barrett heard the motion, and, if there ever was a judge of keen penetration and remarkable ability to dissect facts and analyze the motives of conflicting statements, he was certainly a past-master in this respect. Imagine my intense gratification and relief when, after holding the motion under consideration for a time, he denied it in an opinion of some length, in which he exposed in a luminous way the falsity of the three affidavits and supported my own in every particular. Since then the idea of undertaking a divorce case has always given me a shudder, and I have consistently rejected retainers in cases of this description.

The relation of the modern lawyer to his clients presents a marked contrast to that of the lawyer of older times. The old-time lawyer occupied a very important and dignified position. With the clergyman, he was a man of intellectual culture, and was treated by everybody with deference and respect. He was the leading personage in the community, and was called upon on all occasions where intellectual cultivation was necessary in producing an appropriate oration or a written address or petition. Frequently his gifts were employed in an editorial capacity. My father in his early days edited the Wayne "Sentinel," some bound volumes of which are in my possession. Any one familiar with the old-time prints will recognize the almost reverential deference in which the lawyer was held, being often represented as occupying a dais, with an obsequious and apparently awe-struck client approaching him, his manner dignified and patronizing, and his general demeanor indicating the conferring by the lawyer of a favor.

This relation between the lawyer and his client existed to a great degree until the early days of my professional life, but since then it has undergone a complete and marvelous change. The advent of the captains of industry, the multi-millionaires, the mighty corporations, and the tremendous business enterprises, with all the pride of wealth and luxury which have followed in their train, has reversed the relative positions, and the lawyer, with a more cultivated intellect than ever and as worthy of deference and respect as formerly, is not treated with the deference and respect of early days. This is

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accounted for to some extent by the keen competition which exists in the profession, placing the lawyer in the attitude of reaching out for retainers, instead of being regarded as conferring a favor by accepting them. The lawyer no longer receives the obsequious client, hat in hand, but is subject to the beck and nod of the great financial magnate, who, whenever he desires to see his lawyer, "sends for him." It would never do for the lawyer who values his practice to insist that his client should call upon him, instead of the lawyer calling upon his client

There is also noticeable, I think, a decline in manners, especially in the courts, that presents a striking contrast with those of earlier days. There have always been, undoubtedly, bullying and browbeating lawyers, rude to their opponents and often brutal to witnesses: but they were exceptions, and their careers were not successful. The amenities of the profession, ordinarily, were carefully observed; and in England when the lawyers met at circuits, and at our own county seats where the court sessions were held, there was generally an abundance of good fellowship and friendly intercourse, which in the heat of litigation was not disturbed by wrangling. In a numerous bar like that of New York, where the mill of litigation is constantly grinding, with a variety of native and foreign elements engaged, and little of personal and friendly intercourse outside of the court-room, the tendency to indulge in personalities, to engage in rancorous controversy, to criticise conduct, to attribute unworthy motives, and to forget the amenities and courtesies of professional life, seems to be more noticeable, in consequence of which the tone of the bar in litigation has been considerably lowered from the high standard which formerly prevailed.

This might be illustrated by an incident which occurred on the argument of a motion. One of the lawyers was noted for his enjoyment of the pleasures of the table, which had given him the appearance of a rather overfed individual. His opponent was arguing earnestly, when the former interrupted with the remark: "You should have raised that point by demurrer." His opponent turned upon him with a savage scowl and inquired: "What do you know about a demurrer? It is nothing that you can eat."

But, after all, it is proverbial that the lawyers fight like demons in the court-room but leave the court-house arm in arm, in the intimacy of friendship. Probably this is as true to-day as it ever was, and it is often the case that lawyers who have had the hardest fight become the warmest friends, subject to the limitation, however, that it was honorable warfare with legitimate weapons and not angry strife where personalities took the place of fair argument. Whatever feeling may have been aroused, it is a good time at the end of a litigation, if not before, to seek an opportunity to remove it by friendly advances, and when the moving cause has disappeared this will not be difficult.

The modern lawyer enjoys advantages over the lawyer who practiced before 1880 which should not only be mentioned, but can scarcely be overestimated. If the lawyers admitted since that date could appreciate the former difficulties in traveling to and from their offices, they would bless the day of elevated roads and subways. For about twelve years after my admission to the bar in 1870 Wall Street could be reached only by the lumbering omnibus which used to run down Broadway and Wall Street to the ferry, or by the surface cars which ran through Church Street and stopped at Barclay Street, or the Sixth Avenue line, which terminated at Vesey Street, or the Third and Fourth Avenue lines, which terminated at the City Hall. If the cars were employed, it was necessary at their terminals either to take a stage or to walk to Wall Street. It would be difficult to portray, and more difficult to realize, the inconvenience and discomforts of these modes of conveyance. The fagged-out horses of midsummer and of stormy winter days, the slow plodding, the dirty straw covering the floors of the buses and cars to keep one's feet warm, the entire absence of ventilation, and the almost, as it seemed, interminable journey, had to be endured of course, and was endured, because no better means of transit were known. With the construction of the Broadway surface road the omnibus disappeared and the convenience of travel was largely increased. But what a blessing the elevated roads were! With their advent travel to and fro was at once transformed, and the journey twice a day became a comfortable experience instead of a painful ordeal. In later years the increased facilities provided by the subway, the brief moments of transit between Forty-second Street and Wall Street, and the protection from exposure to storm and torrid heat, furnish an

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indescribable contrast to the days of the omnibus and surface cars. Sometimes I hear one of my juniors complain of the vitiated air of the subway or some other objectionable feature which imagination most likely has created, and I cannot but have a silent contempt for his ingratitude, which he would surely acknowledge if he could be translated for a time to the days of the omnibus and street cars and be compelled to endure their horrors on a winter night in the midst of a raging blizzard.

The second paper in this series, "The Modern Law Office," will appear in an early issue

BRAZIL AND THE NEGRO

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

IN THE SERIES ON SOUTH AMERICA

*It may be noted that in this article Mr. Roosevelt is not attempting either to justify or condemn the Brazilian attitude toward the Negro as contrasted with that of the United States, but simply to set forth clearly what the Brazilian attitude is in fact.—*THE EDITORS.

IF I were asked to name the one point in which there is complete difference between the Brazilians and ourselves, I should say that it was in the attitude toward the black man. As the Indian becomes civilized he is absorbed into the population, as is the case with us in Oklahoma, and whoever has Indian blood in him is proud of the fact. The President of Brazil is one of these men, and there are a number of others among the leaders whom I met. It is an entire mistake to speak as if the population of Brazil were so mixed as to be wholly unlike that of Europe or the United States. It is mixed only in the sense in which the populations of Italy and Spain are mixed, as the population of southern France is mixed, as the population is mixed in many parts of the United States. As regards the major part of the population, the "mixed race" is such only in the sense in which that is also true of the United States, and of most of the advanced nations of mankind. There is one real difference, however. This difference between the United States and Brazil is the tendency of Brazil to absorb the Negro. My observation leads me to believe that in "absorb" I have used exactly the right expression to describe this process. It is the Negro who is being absorbed and not the Negro who is absorbing the white man. The great majority of the men and women of high social position in Rio are of as unmixed white blood as the corresponding class in Paris or Madrid or Rome. The great majority of the political leaders are pure whites, with an occasional dash of Indian blood. But any Negro or mulatto who shows himself fit is without question given the place to which his abilities entitle him. I met one or two colored Deputies. At one military school I met a Negro professor. At one great laboratory I saw a colored doctor. All of these men were accepted quite simply on their worth, and apparently nobody had any idea of discriminating against them in any official or business relations because of their color. A very great majority of the Negroes, and most of the colored people—that is, the mulattoes and quadroons—do not make their way up to the highest positions, and they are proportionately most plentiful in the lower ranks. Among the working people, for instance, and among the enlisted men of the army and navy, I saw many Negroes, many colored men, working side by side in the same organizations with the whites, and apparently without any discrimination being made against them. In Bahia there is a very large Negro element among the working class. In parts of Brazil it is somewhat larger. In Rio it is noticeable, but far less so than in most of the cities of the Southern United States.

Brazil is most fortunate in the fact that its white working population has nothing of the

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parasite about it. The whites do not endeavor to live on the labor of the blacks, the inevitable result of which, as shown in all other communities, is that ultimately the blacks crowd out of existence those who live on their labor. On the contrary, the bulk of the work, even in Rio, is done by white men. But these white men draw no line against the Negro, and in the lower ranks intermarriages are frequent, especially between the Negroes and the most numerous of the immigrant races of Europe. In the middle class these intermarriages are rare, and in the higher class almost unknown so far as concerns men and women in which the black strain is at all evident. But even in the higher ranks there is apparently no prejudice whatever against marrying a man or girl who is, say, seven-eighths white, the remaining quantity of black blood being treated as a negligible element. The men and women with whom I closely associated were in the very great majority of cases pure white, save in the comparatively rare instances where they had a dash of Indian blood. But they naturally and unconcernedly told me the facts as I have above related them.

Perhaps the attitude that the Brazilians, including the most intelligent among them, take is best symbolized by a picture we saw in the art museum in Rio. It portrayed a black grandfather, a mulatto son, and a white grandchild, the evident intention of the painter being to express both the hope and the belief that the Negro was being absorbed and transformed so that he would become a white man. It is idle to prophesy for any remote future, and it is a very doubtful thing to prophesy even about the immediate future, but my impression is that the guiding or ruling classes of Brazil will continue to be almost absolutely white, that in the classes immediately below them there will continue to be a certain small absorption of Negro blood, and that among the ordinary people this absorption will be larger—large enough to make a slight difference in the type.

From the above it will be seen that the ideals of the United States and of Brazil as regards the treatment of the Negroes are wholly different. The best men in the United States, not only among the whites but among the blacks also, believe in the complete separation of the races so far as marriage is concerned, while they also believe in treating each man of whatever color absolutely on his worth as a man, allowing him full opportunity to achieve the success warranted by his ability and integrity, and giving to him the full measure of respect to which that success entitles him. In Brazil, on the contrary, the idea looked forward to is the disappearance of the Negro question through the disappearance of the Negro himself—that is, through his gradual absorption into the white race.

This does not mean that Brazilians are or will become the "mongrel" people that they have been asserted to be by certain writers, not only French and English, but American. The Brazilians are a white people, belonging to the Mediterranean race, and differing from the northern stocks only as such great and civilized old races as the Spaniards and Italians, with their splendid historic past, differ from these northern stocks. The evident Indian admixture has added a good, and not a bad, element. The very large European immigration of itself tends, decade by decade, to make the Negro blood a smaller element of the blood of the whole community. The Brazilian of the future will be in blood more European than in the past, and he will differ in culture only as the American of the North differs.

The great majority of the men and women I met, the leaders in the world of political and industrial effort and of scientific accomplishment, showed little, if any, more trace of Negro blood than would be shown by the like number of similar men in a European capital. Yet not only is there in some classes a considerable infiltration of Negro blood, with a corresponding tendency of the pure Negro type to disappear, but this process is regarded with hearty approval by the most thoughtful statesmen of the country. Their view, so different from our own, can perhaps best be expressed in the words of one of these very statesmen, himself of pure white blood, who said to me substantially:

"Of course the presence of the Negro is the real problem, and a very serious problem, both in your country, the United States, and in mine, Brazil. Slavery was an intolerable method of solving the problem, and had to be abolished. But the problem itself remained, in the presence of the Negro. It was not the slave-owner who inherited his slaves who was responsible for the problem. The slave-trader who brought the slaves into the country was the man who inflicted the ghastly wrong, not only upon the blacks but upon the whites. We, like you, have merely inherited the problem.

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"Now comes the necessity to devise some method of dealing with it. You of the United States are keeping the blacks as an entirely separate element, and you are not treating them in a way that fosters their self-respect. They will remain a menacing element in your civilization, permanent, and perhaps even after a while a growing element. With us the question tends to disappear, because the blacks themselves tend to disappear and become absorbed. You speak of Brazil as having a large Negro population. Well, in a century there will not be any Negroes in Brazil, whereas you will have twenty or thirty millions of them. Then for you there will be a real and very uncomfortable problem, while for us the problem in its most menacing phase will have disappeared. You say that this result will be accomplished only by an adulteration, and therefore a weakening, of the pure white blood. I grant that this will have happened as regards a portion, perhaps a third, of our population. I regret this, but it is the least objectionable of the alternatives. We treat the Negro with entire respect, and he responds to the treatment. If a Negro shows capacity and integrity, he receives the same reward that a white man would receive. He has therefore every incentive to rise. In the upper ranks of society there is no intermarriage with the Negro of pure or nearly pure blood; but such intermarriage is frequent in the lower ranks, especially between the Negro and many classes of immigrants.

"The pure Negro is constantly growing less and less in numbers, and after two or more crosses of the white blood the Negro blood tends to disappear, so far as the physical, mental, and moral traits of the race are concerned. When he has disappeared, his blood will remain as an appreciable, but in no way a dominant, element in perhaps a third of our people, while the remaining two-thirds will be pure whites. Granted that this strain will represent a slight weakening in one-third of our population, the result will be that in our country two-thirds of the population will have kept its full strength, with one-third slightly weakened, while the Negro problem will have entirely disappeared. In your country all the white population will have been kept in its original race strength, but the Negro will remain in increased numbers and with an increased and bitter sense of his isolation, so that the problem of his presence will be more menacing than at present. I do not say that ours is a perfect solution, but I regard it as a better solution than yours. We and you have to face two alternatives, neither of them without drawbacks. I believe that the one we Brazilians have chosen will in the long run, from the national standpoint, prove less disadvantageous and dangerous than the one you of the United States have chosen."

ALI BABA, MY CAIQUE-TCHI

BY DEMETRA VAKA

AUTHOR OF "HAREMLIK" AND OTHER BOOKS ABOUT ORIENTAL LIFE

ALTHOUGH I was born and brought up in Turkey, like all my ancestors since before the Turks took Constantinople in 1453, the only Turkish man I ever knew really well was Ali Baba. I met him when I was thirteen years old. We had left our home on the island of Prinkipo, in the Sea of Marmora, and had gone to spend the winter in Constantinople. At first I was very lonely there, away from home and all my young friends, until by accident I stumbled upon a big volume of Byzantine history, a history till then practically unknown to me. As page after page revealed its treasures, my interest in the people of which it told increased, and loneliness and boredom departed, not to return again that winter.

After I had finished the book it came over me that all these marvelous things I had been reading about had taken place yonder, at Stamboul, half an hour from where I sat. Instantly the desire took possession of me to re-read that history, chapter by chapter, then cross over to Stamboul and find the actual places mentioned.

This was not so easy as one might have thought, for I had to reckon with my elders, who would have a thousand and one objections to my going over to the Turkish city,

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I went immediately to my mother, and without any preamble—which I knew to be the best way in order to take her breath away—told her of my project, speaking of it casually, as if it were as simple as drinking a glass of water.

She gave me the puzzled look with which she often regarded my little person. I believe that every time I came before her she wondered anew how I happened to be her child, for she was tall and beautiful, and very conventional in her desires, and I was small and elfish, and my desires were usually for things she could not imagine any person wanting. After I had finished speaking, she replied, quietly:

"What you ask is out of the question; for we have no one, you know, who can waste so much time every week accompanying you."

"I don't want any one," I replied. "I would much rather go alone."

The puzzled expression in her eyes deepened. "Go alone—over there? But I have never been there alone in all my life."

"I know that, mamma, but you know perfectly well that there are a great many things you never did, or will ever bring yourself to do, which I have already done. Besides," I pleaded, "my father is dead now, my brother is away; you took me from my home and brought me to this big town, and you don't even let me go to school, on account of my weak lungs—and what is there left for me to do?"

"Well, well," my mother compromised, "you had better let me think it over, child."

The result of her thinking culminated in my being accompanied to the former capital of the great Byzantine Empire by an uninterested and unsympathetic companion.

It was an utter failure, this my first attempt at archæological research. My companion, besides being unsympathetic, had a supercilious way of talking, and prided herself on her ignorance. Before the afternoon was at an end she became tired and cross, and then coaxed me, saying, "Why don't we go and see the lovely jewels and silks in the market, and there I shall treat you to a plate of *taoukokshu*."

I agreed at once, not because I was willing to sell my Byzantine interests for a plate of sweets, but because her presence spoiled my pleasure.

That evening my mother and I had a conversation of an animated nature, a conversation which was continued the next day and yet the next, and grew more animated with each session, until on my side it reached stormy heights—and my mother's nature abhorred storms; so I obtained the coveted permission of going alone to the city of Byzantium.

"Mind, though, baby," she cautioned, "don't ever cross the Golden Horn in a boat. You must always go by the bridge."

It had not occurred to me to take the boat, but once the suggestion was made, it took possession of my brain, and tormented it to such an extent that on arriving at the Galata Bridge my feet turned straight to the quay where the Turkish boatmen were squatted, contemplatively "drinking" their *narghilés*.

"A boat!" I commanded, imitating as far as possible my mother's manner.

The first man of the row put aside his *narghilé* and rose quickly. Unlike all the other nationalities in Turkey, the Turks alone never jostle each other for a fare. They have a system of their own which they scrupulously adhere to.

The *caique-tchi* who approached at my summons was an old man. He was dressed in full, baggy trousers, and wore a white turban on his head. He must have been an old man when Sultan Medjid, thirty years previously, had substituted the fez for the turban, and he had not cared to adopt the new headdress.

"What does the little *hanoum* wish?"

"To cross," I replied, with the same haughty manner as before.

He bent down, unfastened the rope with which his slender, graceful little *caique* was tied, and I stepped into it and settled myself blissfully among the cushions in the bottom.

Before he had rowed me half-way over I remembered that I had forgotten to strike a bargain with him. "By the way," I said, casually, "what is your fare?"

"A *kourous* and a half" (six cents), he said, promptly.

"What!" I cried. "If you are not ready to accept half that, you may just as well take me back."

He stopped rowing. "Take you back! But where would be the profit?"

"I don't know," I replied; "but that's the answer the dead philosopher made to Charon."

"If he were dead, how could he make an answer?" he asked.

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Thereupon I found myself in my most favorite pastime—initiating somebody into the Greek writings—and as I explained to him Lucian's "Dialogues of the Dead" the old Turk listened intently, paddling very slowly, slightly bending toward me, his kind eyes twinkling, his face wreathed in smiles, looking very much like a nice big red apple shriveled by the frost and sun.

By the time I had finished the story of the philosopher we were approaching the other side of the Golden Horn.

"You see," I concluded, "you get more than Charon did out of the transaction, and, besides, since I am going over there three times a week, you may become my regular boatman, and if you are over here with a fare at sunset you may wait for me and take me back too—only then I shall pay you one *para* less."

It was not because I was of a miserly disposition that I was bargaining so hard; but I had only one *medjedié* a month, and some one invariably borrowed a part of it back from me, so that I was always in straitened circumstances.

"Why are you going over there so often?" he asked, kindly.

I liked his baggy bloomers of the color of the stained-glass windows one sees in the old cathedrals; I liked his being faithful to the turban; and I fell in love with his kind, beaming old face. Besides, the way he enjoyed the story of the philosopher and Charon convinced me that he was not like most of the dreadful older people—so I told him the reason.

His oars again became suspended in the air, and he listened with intense interest.

"Is it in the Koran you read all those things?"

"Oh, no," I said; "in a book bigger than the Koran."

"How can that be?" he asked, incredulously.

Then I amplified, and told him of Constantine the Great, of how he left Rome to build a new city, hundreds and hundreds of years before the Turks had even thought of leaving Asia and invading Europe.

His attention to my words delighted me. I had not been so happy for ever so long; for, next to reading books, I loved to impart them, since in the telling I tasted them better. They became clearer to me. Besides, sharing things from books is a joy to which there is nothing comparable.

"You can read all this?" he exclaimed, admiringly; "you who are no bigger than my thumb! But then your people could always read, though they were no kind of fighters, and we beat them."

He did not mean to be rude, I knew. It was his direct, Oriental way of stating a fact, and I did not resent it. But I did explain to him that in the past we had been *very* great fighters—I kindly abstained from telling him how we had fought them in the Revolution, and how we beat them.

That he was genuinely interested he proved to me when we landed.

"*Benim kuchouk, hanoum* [my little lady], I should love to be your *caique-tchi* both ways, and I shall charge you only two *paras* for each crossing, if you will only tell me what you are going to see every day and whether you found it over yonder."

I extended my microscopic hand, and he took it solemnly in his big callous brown one.

"You are a dear, Ali Baba," I cried. I did not know what his name was, but Father Ali seemed to suit him.

Byzantine history, combined with my search in old Byzantium and Ali Baba's rapt attention to my expounding of it, made that winter a very happy one. I generally returned when the city was bathed in the sunset light; and these hours with Ali Baba listening, his oars poised over the waters of the Golden Horn—truly golden at this hour—were hours of enchantment for me. How could we help becoming fast friends, sharing, as we did, such magical moments together? I liked him so much that I began to economize and make him presents I thought he needed, such as a new shirt, a new pair of stockings, a new cloth for his turban; and it almost broke my heart when, one evening, as he was landing me on the Constantinople side, he, too, made me a present. It was a very gaudy red and blue handkerchief, filled with raisins and *leblebia*—a delectable grain to be found only in Turkey.

I accepted these, apparently delighted, yet wondering what I was to do with them; for it would have been impossible to enter the house and go to my room without having to explain the handkerchief and its contents—and the handkerchief would mean to tell about the boat-rides, and I did not wish to contemplate what would follow that disclosure.

With a great deal of heart-aching I had to dispose of the sweets. I gave them to some

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urchins in the street, and my ache in a measure was relieved by the joy manifested by them.

Although this was the only winter I traveled with Ali Baba, I never forgot him. Indeed, the bond between us was too great lightly to forget; and when I came to town, I always managed to save a half-hour for him. I would go directly to the quay, and, if he were not there, I would wait for him till he came back from the other side. And if he were there, he always rose quickly, unfastened his little *caique*, and off we were; only to stop in mid-stream, his oars poised in the air, his kind eyes twinkling, his mouth half opened with a smile, listening to the things I had to say of books and of travels.

I did not tell him good-by when, in my seventeenth year, I left Turkey for America. Indeed, I went away so hastily that there was no time for good-bys for anybody; and six years later, when I returned and again made my way toward the spot where he always sat, I was terribly afraid lest I should not find him. I lingered on the way, preparing myself for the news of his death; but no, there he was! with the identical bloomers, his turban a little on one side, and his kind face of a red apple not a day older than when I first met him ten years before.

I went and stood before him. "Ali Baba!" I said, tears in my voice.

He rose, a trifle less quickly than he used to, and looked at me incredulously.

"*Benim kuchouk, hanoum*," he said, slowly, rubbing his eyes.

"Oh, it is I!" I cried; "it is I!" and gave him both my hands.

We walked toward the little *caique*, where he took some time to unfasten the rope. We did not speak till he rowed again midways under the bridge.

"Where have you been all these many, many years?" he asked, reproachfully.

"I have been to America," I replied, "the newest and biggest of all countries"—and, as of old, I was talking and he was listening; only this time it was not of the past, and of the people who, having done their work, were dead and forgotten, but of a country of a great present and a still greater future. And, as of old, his face was full of interest and kindness.

Presently he asked, "But, my little lady, what have you done with the roses of your face? You are pale and worn out."

"One has to work hard in America," I replied. "It is a country which requires of your best, of your utmost, if you are to succeed." And again I went on to tell him of the fast trains which go sixty miles an hour, of the elevated trains flying above the middle of the streets, and of the preparations for the subways which were to burrow in the depths of the city.

"But why are they working so hard and preparing so much?" he asked, a bit bewildered. "After all, they will have to die, and when they are dead they can only have a grave like anybody else."

I shook my head. "They are making away with the graves, my Ali Baba. They have invented a quicker and more expedient way of getting rid of the body. They place it on a table in a special room, and within two hours all that is left of it is a simple white strip of clean ashes."

He gasped. "They have done that?" he cried in horror. "They have done that! Allah, canst thou forgive them?" He leaned toward me, earnestness and entreaty in his kind face. "Don't go back there, my little one, don't go back there again! It is an accursed country which steals the peace from the living, their bodies from the dead, and robs a child of her roses. Say that you are not going back, my little one!"

Again I shook my head. "When I left there, my Ali Baba, I bought my return ticket. I wear it, like an amulet, around my neck. I am going back as soon as I can complete that which brought me here."

He let his oars drop suddenly. "You are going back?" he asked with awe. "But why?"

I looked at him, and beyond him at old Byzantium—once Greek, now full of minarets and mosques and all they stood for. A red Turkish flag floated idly against the indigo sky.

Why was I going back to that vast new country, so diametrically different from his own? Could I explain to him?

No, I could not. He could not understand. His flag was the Crescent, mine was the Cross.

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THE NAKED ISSUE IN ULSTER

BY EDWARD G. MACKAY

Most Americans sympathize with the struggle for self-government in whatever part of the world it may appear—with that of the Russian revolutionists, the patriots of Poland, the founders of the new republic in Portugal, the Young Turks, the Balkan peoples, the opponents of the despotic Huerta. In the same way, most Americans are in sympathy with the fight for Home Rule in Ireland. The following article gives the reason for the opposition to Home Rule that has arisen in Ulster. It explains that this opposition is not a reaction against self-government, but a part of the same struggle for self-government of which the Home Rule movement itself is a symptom. In submitting this article, which he describes as "a sympathetic statement of the attitude of Ulster and the major reasons for that attitude," the author, who writes from Georgia, has sent us a letter from which we quote the following:

Being an Ulsterman by birth and education, I have always kept in close touch with the political situation in Ireland. On a recent visit I had opportunity to talk over the situation with Irishmen in all walks of life and of every shade of political opinion.

The Outlook is one of the few American publications that have in any degree given Ulster a fair hearing. An article that appeared in your columns about a year ago by a Mr. Potter was in the main a true statement of conditions, though it magnified the matter of religious animosity.

The only solution to the Irish problem that will avoid bloodshed and disaster is Home Rule for Ireland with Ulster left out, or else, as Sir Edward Grey has suggested, "Home Rule within Home Rule." This would leave the political integrity of Ulster untouched and should satisfy the Nationalists.

*The crisis in Great Britain that has been created by this conflict between two forces, both of which are avowedly advocating self-government, is treated in the editorial pages of this number.—*THE EDITORS.

IT is a matter of no small concern to all lovers of peace that serious war clouds are gathering in Ireland over the present crisis on the Home Rule question. The American public can scarcely realize how tangible is the trouble and how unhappily it may end. It is only when one fully understands the temper of the Irish people of both factions and comes in close contact with public sentiment in Ireland itself that the possibility of a fratricidal war looms large and luridly on the horizon of the not far distant future. The writer, being of Ulster birth, and having recently spent several months in Ireland, has had an unusually good opportunity to study the question in the light of American ideals of democracy. In strange contrast with the history of primitive Christianity within her borders, when peace was the rule and learning the habit of her people, have been Ireland's last few centuries of turbulent and melancholy experiences; and it would seem that this new development, instead of healing the old wounds and ushering in a new era, is but to bring back bitter memories and renew forgotten hatreds.

It is difficult for the public of one country to enter, with a just perception, into the problems which perplex another people, and it is not surprising that the opposition of Ulster to Home Rule has been seriously misunderstood in America. If the industrious and independent citizens of Ireland's most prosperous province are receiving little justice from the Liberals of England, certainly still less justice is extended by the press and public sentiment of the United States. This is due partly to the control which the partisans of Home Rule seem to have over press despatches emanating from Ireland, and partly to a misunderstanding of the real issues at stake.

A well-meaning band of patriots in New England can solve, with great satisfaction, in an evening's discussion, a Southern problem which may baffle for generations the best brain and purest motives of the South's best statesmen. After this very fashion the

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American newspaper has applied the "absent treatment" to Ireland's political ills, effecting wonderful cures and transforming, as if by magic, a land of poverty and oppression into a veritable Canaan of milk and honey. This done, the men of Ulster have been condemned as a company of misguided bigots, whose unreasonable opposition may result in keeping Ireland from becoming the El Dorado of Europe. But the theory and practice of democracy are two very different things; and it is a mistake for us to assume that a democratic formula which works well in America will bring similar results elsewhere. The union between our States would have proved as brittle as cheap statuary if the Federal Constitution had not provided a wide margin for the individualism of States. Thus a reform which is welcome to three Irish provinces is refused with radical repudiation by the fourth, because the people of this fourth, which is the most populous province, differ fundamentally in political ideals from the other three. Under these conditions, Home Rule, as at present proposed, becomes contrary to the spirit of true democracy.

Ulster's chief crime in the present crisis, when viewed through the glasses of the ill-informed and superficial democrat, is that she is in the minority. But it is not such a hopeless minority as her enemies would have it appear. Ulster contains one and a half of Ireland's four and one-third millions, and a million of the former are opposed to Home Rule. The anti-Home Rule citizens of Ulster, therefore, are greater in number than the white population of South Carolina, and exceed the total population of any Southern State at the outbreak of the Civil War. To force undesirable legislation on such a province is a dangerous experiment in free government, and should not be attempted unless its application would remove palpable oppression. No such oppression exists to-day in Ireland, and the fact that it did exist in the days of Grattan and O'Connell is no warrant for passing the reform measure which these patriots once pressed upon Parliament. Such a course would be a curious form of post-mortem political justice which would satisfy the sentiments and not the actual needs of the present generation.

Ireland to-day enjoys the same liberties—political, religious, and economic—that are found in England or Scotland. In fact, she has gained concessions in reference to peasant proprietorship of land that have never been granted in the two latter countries. There is no established church. In the past decade she has entered on an era of prosperity the beneficent results of which are beginning to be felt in the remotest rural regions. Land rent in Ireland is no higher than it is in America, and it is possible for the thrifty farmer to buy his own acres on an easy payment plan, in which the interests of the humblest purchaser are safeguarded by a Government commission. The system of free and compulsory education is excellent, extending to all the benefits of the public school-house and the trained teacher.

Ireland's greatest need is not political change, but industrial and agricultural development. Excessive agitation breeds an unwholesome discontent. Ulster, with the same laws as the rest of the country, and with soil and natural resources not as rich, has, through the thrift of its energetic people, become a section of great prosperity. The city of Belfast leads the world in the ship-building and linen industries, and her splendid factories and foundries are not outclassed anywhere. Why should the Scotch-Irish be prosperous and the rest of the country remain steeped in poverty, ignorance, and indolence, when the same laws operate for all? Ulster has never had an exclusive patent on prosperity, and what success has been hers has come, not through Government concessions, but from consistent toil. Some critics of the country conclude that the contrast between conditions in Ulster and those in the other provinces is a suggestive and convincing commentary upon the reflex influence of religious institutions on material development. However this may be, it is true that Protestantism and prosperity have gone hand in hand in Ulster, while poverty and Catholicism have kept close company in the rest of Ireland. Is this merely accidental, or is it not an Irish demonstration of that which is common in other Old World countries under similar conditions?

Unfortunately for Ireland, political agitation has entered into the national character until it takes rank with the five senses in the psychology of an Irishman. Home Rule sentiment and a hatred for England have grown traditional, and it is proverbial second nature with a son of Erin to be "ag'in' the Government." There has been reason for this, for no one who knows their history will deny that the Irish people have been victims in the past of political tyranny and religious

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intolerance. But the times have changed, and a new spirit has been abroad everywhere under the British flag. Old wrongs have been redressed, the mailed fist has given place to the hand of friendship, and British statesmen have brought their best talents to the task of twining the rose, the shamrock, and the thistle in a threefold union of Celt and Anglo-Saxon. But the leaders of the Irish party have consistently refused this proffered friendship, and have preferred to nurse the bitter memories of other years rather than to accept in good faith the pledge of a new and equal partnership. That is why the demand for Home Rule has never been downed, and why for generations it has been presented to Parliament with a persistency that has challenged the admiration and won the sympathy of the world. And Ireland is being heard to-day, not because of any crying need for Home Rule, but for her much asking.

The naked issue in Ulster has two outstanding phases, the one patriotic and the other religious; and these in the minds of Ulstermen are serious enough to warrant the warlike preparations that are being made. The issue, first of all, is one of patriotism. Any one who knows anything of Ireland at all knows that the Nationalist element is rebel to the core. It never has been, and, it seems, never will be, anything else. Every fresh unfolding of the Home Rule movement has been tempered by the leaven of rebellion. This spirit is shown by a bitter anti-English sentiment which glories in open and avowed opposition to every interest of the Empire, and does not stop with insulting the flag and denouncing the King, but goes as far as unblushing treason. During the recent Boer War the Irish sent men and money into the Transvaal to assist the Boers, hoping that this new Irish Brigade would bring defeat to the cause and dishonor to the flag of England in South Africa. But another Fontenoy was looked for in vain. At the close of the war the colonel of this rebel regiment was put forward by Redmond's party as a candidate for Member of Parliament for a Home Rule constituency in the south of Ireland. He was elected with great enthusiasm. When he landed, however, he was arrested as a traitor, tried, and sentenced for treason. This incident well illustrates the temper of the Home Rulers towards the Government, and gives one of Ulster's main reasons for her determined opposition to the measure. Intensely loyal, and with a patriotism that has gladly shed her best blood for the flag, from Waterloo to Ladysmith, Ulster refuses to be put under the heel of those she knows too well to be rebels at heart.

The religious phase of the question has been mentioned as paramount. It enters largely into the struggle, but it has been given undue prominence in an effort to discount with the charge of bigotry the contentions of the Protestants and to win sympathy for the cause of the Catholics. If there is a semblance of intolerance in the present activity of Ulster, it is the intolerance of self-defense, which seeks, not to oppress another creed, but to cherish and defend a dearly bought liberty of conscience. Ulster believes that the advent of Home Rule would mean the ascendency of Roman Catholicism in governmental, educational, and social affairs; and while the Protestants have nothing but kind and generous feelings for individual Catholics, they have a deep distrust of the Papal hierarchy. This distrust has been augmented in recent years by the enforcement of the obnoxious "Ne temere decree," which is considered to be a serious encroachnent on civil liberty. Many incidents could be cited of the activity of the Catholic priesthood in matters of public interest not legitimately within the province of the Church, and which show the unfriendly attitude of Rome towards Protestantism in Ireland. Home Rule would give the priesthood undue power, and the country would be ruled by an intensely loyal Catholic party. Under these conditions Ulster, paying, as she would, most of the taxes, believes she would be discriminated against.

Ulster is within her rights, therefore, in refusing to submit to a Dublin Parliament. Her people represent the highest type of British democrat, and, while willing to let the rest of Ireland have Home Rule, they refuse to go into partnership with the other provinces, whose citizens differ with them so widely and so fundamentally in all matters relating to loyalty to the flag and liberty of conscience. It is doubly a "state rights" case for Ulster; and should the present bill become law, as scheduled, within the next few months, it will be repudiated as emphatically as the American colonies declined to endure the Stamp Act. The fact that Ulster could be crushed by the superior numbers and equipment of the British army has no bearing on the justice of her cause. There is no right in might.

While Americans may sympathize with the

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long and persistent contest of the Irish Nationalists for a government at home divorced entirely from English interference, yet it should not be forgotten that the Scotch-Irish of Ulster represent more nearly the American type of citizen than any other people, and are closely related by ties of blood to the original settlers of this country. In the present crisis they are playing the part of democrats and patriots. They are sincere in the political principles they hold, and, though menaced at home and maligned abroad, they will continue to stand for the right as God has given them to see it.

EMERSON'S JOURNALS

BY HAMILTON W. MABIE

IN point of literary interest and quality the most important publications of the season have been "The Letters of Charles Eliot Norton" and the concluding volumes of "The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson" (Houghton Mifflin Company). These books have a double value: they enrich American literature and they make a generous contribution to its history. For the moment, the country is absorbed in the engrossing task of making history and is far more interested in its future than in its past. It is, indeed, somewhat impatient of references to a past which, as a matter of fact, is having its fruitage in the present. This is the natural protest of the present against the authority of the past. Emerson would have understood and sympathized with it. "We admire our fathers quite too much. It shows that we have no energy in ourselves; . . . rather let us shame the fathers by superior virtues in the sons." It was the spirit that pervaded those earlier addresses which shocked the conservatism of the third decade of the last century. To the end of his life Emerson was the daring and eloquent teacher of the great truth that life is a progressive revelation of truth, that each generation must hold an original relation to the universe, that each age must have its own prophets and take its destiny into its own hands.

He was a democrat to the heart, but he had no illusions about the fallibility of popular opinion. "Every man has the whole capital in him," he writes, "but does not know how to turn it. Every man knows all that Plato or Kant can teach him, yet from the inertness and phlegm of his nature . . . he exists as a flint—he that should be a sun." Every generation that drinks of the new wine of democracy becomes boastful of its achievements and insolent toward the past; but when it has tried its hand at remaking the world and has found out by painful experience how little can be done by the most active and eager age, and that the solution of the old problems simply clears the ground for new problems, it becomes more modest in its estimate of its own power and more intelligent in its estimate of the work of the fathers. The new poets go bravely forward, but they soon tire of announcing that Shakespeare has had his day and that poetry is now at last to be born in the world.

It was only the other day that we were told that science, which is the stalwart contemporary of democracy, had extinguished the flickering lamp of philosophy, and that the world must accept the conclusion that the ultimate questions had either been answered or could not be answered. And now the lecture-rooms in which M. Bergson expounds his essentially religious philosophy are crowded with eager listeners, and the world has forgotten that, great as is its debt to science, it even thought that the soul could be studied by laboratory methods or spiritual forces explained in material terms.

Emerson was a convinced democrat because he believed that man is a spiritual being. To him every individual mind was an inlet of the universal mind; a view of the Incarnation which was far enough from the most advanced orthodoxy, but which laid tremendous emphasis on the divine descent and destiny of the human race. Holding this view of the possibilities of the human spirit, Emerson never flattered democracy or accepted the will of the majority as settling any question into which moral issues entered. To him democracy was not an end in itself; it was the divine method of educating the

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race. There was no magic in it; it did not produce great men any more than public schools produce great men; there was no virtue in it except the virtue of appealing to the highest in men and giving the highest the opportunity of free development. The value of democracy depended entirely on the use that was made of it; on the virtue and intelligence with which it was directed.

The country sorely needed this spiritual definition of democracy at a time when it was housing the ancient barbarism of slavery, and needs it to-day when it tolerates widespread corruption, political infidelity, lawlessness, and tyranny of capital and of labor. We are on our way to better things, but it is still a time for fasting and prayer, not for Fourth of July jubilations.

Emerson was a leader, not a follower. He described our friends as those "who make us do what we can." We count on our friends to comfort us with pleasant things; to administer a pleasant anodyne to us when life lays its burdens on us. He summoned them to awaken us out of sleep, to scourge us if necessary on the road to nobility. "I have been writing and speaking what men once called novelties for twenty or thirty years, and have not made one disciple. Why? Not that what I said was not true; not that it has not found intelligent receivers; but because it did not go from any wish in me to bring men to me, but to themselves." Men of this greatness of vision and noble indifference to popularity are indispensable in democracy because they guard the people from becoming a mob, precisely as courtesy and politeness are more necessary in a democracy than in a society divided into ranks because they prevent people from pressing too closely upon one another.

The ten volumes which contain the Journals make still more plain the simplicity and sincerity of Emerson's nature: he had, apparently, no vanity, and the publicity to which men of distinction to-day are exposed would have been hateful to him; but he would not have objected to the opening of the doors of his workshop which the publication of these records of his thoughts and experiences effects. He was by no means devoid of little innocent devices of art, as his wonderfully effective use of pause in speaking showed; but he had no tricks. As he used it, writing was a function of the spirit, not a technical skill. He was dependent on inspiration, and inspiration came to him in sudden glimpses rather than in vast visions. He saw things in their widest relations, but truth was continually cleared in his view by local revelations.

He was immensely helped, too, by the reports of other discoverers of truth, and he had a genius for apt quotation. The thought in his essays is often in layers rather than in formal sequence, and his memoranda often pass into his work with little modification. His Journals, for this reason, read like integral parts of his works. They are full of those witty comments and characterizations which are as pithy and shrewd as the observations of the keen-eyed New England farmers who were his neighbors and for whose naïve wisdom he had great respect. Speaking of Thoreau, he says: "Henry avoids commonplace, and talks birch bark to all comers, reduces them all to the same insignificance;" which recalls Madame Hoar's remark, "Henry always speaks of Nature as if it had been born and brought up in Concord." But with Thoreau, as with Margaret Fuller and all the "come-outers" who sought his sympathy and support, Emerson never lost his poise. "I tell him," he writes, "that a man was not made to live in a swamp like a frog. If God meant him to live in a swamp, he would have made him a frog."

It is interesting to note that when Emerson was invited by the Middlesex Agricultural Society to deliver an address at the annual Cattle Show, he chose as a title "The Man with the Hoe." He was something of a farmer, but never a sportsman. Longfellow, who was rarely humorous, refused to go to the Adirondacks with Agassiz, John Holmes, Judge Hoar, Lowell, and other kindred spirits if Emerson was to have a gun! Lowell had both wit and humor; indeed, the judgment of the future may decide that humor was his richest and most characteristic quality; but the New England group as a whole were men of infinite wit rather than humorists. This was true of the men who, like John Holmes and "Tom" Appleton, stand in the penumbra of their more famous contemporaries. Emerson's wit plays over his thought with an auroral brightness and detachment. It is often cold and sometimes spectral, but it flashes an illuminating light across the landscape of his intellectual life. It lacks the substance, the rich human quality, of humor; it is the pure white light of thought; but it is often penetrating and revealing. It was obviously a refuge from a very concentrated intellectual grappling with the problems of

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existence. It is the play of a mind of resolute loyalty to its intuitions and insights. "Modern criticism has whitewashed Richard III; Cromwell; Froude has made out Henry VIII a good family man; Robespierre is a genuine patriot and tender philanthropist; 'tis almost Cæsar Borgia's turn to become a saint. Meantime, the other process now begins, and Forchhammer has blackwashed Socrates."

Most lovers of books like to have Boswell's "Life of Johnson" within reach, not for consecutive reading but to take up at odd moments. One would not have enjoyed the Great Talker as a constant companion, but one would have valued an occasional evening surrendered entirely to his one-sided, prejudiced, but invigorating comment. Few people read Emerson continuously, but as a "friend of the spirit," to recall Arnold's happy phrase, he is an inexhaustible source of refreshment and inspiration. It is always morning in his world; he did not paint the dawn, like Corot, but his sky was always suffused by it. "I reached the other day the end of my fifty-seventh year, and am easier in my mind than hitherto," he writes: "I could never give much reality to evil and pain. But now when my wife says perhaps this tumor on your shoulder is a cancer, I say, 'What if it is?'"

These ten volumes are the stuff of which essay and biography are made; opened at any page, they show Emerson at work, not at a desk but out of doors under the open sky; by no means indifferent to books, but living in personal and direct relations with nature. "I am a natural reader, and only a writer in the absence of natural writers," he says, and the lists of books read, at the end of the chapters of the Journal, seem to confirm his statement; but they show him always browsing on the uplands, nourished by ideas which compel expression.

The Emersonian phrase and form crowd these pages and tempt one to prolix quotation: "The imagination gives all the value to the day. If we walk, if we work, if we talk, it is how many strokes vibrate on the mystic string." "People receive as a compliment the freedom of cities. 'Tis a sham gift; . . . the personage . . . who receives it is some poet or some politician. What freedom will it give him? Not of the river, for he cannot swim or row; not of the woods, for he is no hunter; . . . not the hills—he has not the least inclination to climb barren mountains. I cannot see that the freedom of such a town as ours can be given to any one who does not possess it already. But they who have the freedom of the town are the boys who use the brook, the pond, the river, the woods, the cliffs, the wild orchards, and huckleberry pastures." Thus speaks the shrewd thinker who was at home under the stars and in the village streets. Great thoughts and shrewd ones are on intimate terms in the Journals.

THE SPECTATOR

"AND how much will this cut-off cost?" the Spectator asked the engineer for the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Railroad when sitting in his office at Nicholson, Pennsylvania.

"About $12,000,000," he replied.

"And how many miles will it save you?"

"Just three and six-tenths miles."

The Spectator whistled softly. The cut-off of the Union Pacific over Great Salt Lake was an expensive undertaking, but the saving in distance and time which resulted was very great. Our Panama Canal will, it is true, cost over $365,000,000 when all expenses are taken into account, but the distance saved by ships going from San Francisco to New York, New Orleans, and Liverpool will run from 6,000 to almost 10,000 miles, making the average cost of construction for every mile saved not more than $65,000; yet here was a railway willing to spend over $3,000,000 for every mile by which it would shorten its line from New York to Buffalo.

"How can you afford to do that?" the Spectator inquired, thoughtfully.

And then by the aid of many a blue-print and row of figures it was carefully and patiently explained to the Spectator how this cut-off would pay the railway.

During almost the entire morning of this dusty, scorching July day the Spectator had wandered over the hills and through the

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little ravines where within two or three years the trains of this road will be rushing along. He had started early in the morning about twelve miles from Scranton, near Clark's Summit, where the new line begins. Through fields of buttercups and daisies, and of the more daringly attired black-eyed Susans and devil's paint-brushes, where the wild strawberries tempted one to stoop occasionally to taste of their uncultivated sweetness, by farm lands in which men were industriously swinging their scythes in the meadows where the wild mustard flashed in its yellow amid the green, or along the edge of some woodlands of oak and maple, of chestnut and beech, he had come at last to the big feature of this undertaking near Nicholson.

In the midst of all this country land which for many a year has been sleeping undisturbed by the noise of modern industry he had run across little temporary villages of unclapboarded huts where a few of the three thousand laborers employed on this work are housed; he had looked down into cuts varying from a few feet to one hundred and twenty-five feet in depth and running in length from thirty or forty to several hundred feet. He had already learned that more than twelve million cubic yards of material, eighty per cent of which will be rock, must be removed, and that the ravines or little valleys to be filled will use up almost all of this before the new road is in shape for the passage of trains. The scraping and rasping of a few of the twenty-eight steam shovels which are at work along the line, the chug-chugging of the steam or compressed-air machines drilling away in the rocks, did not prevent his trying to imagine, as he looked down into one of these cuts, a hill of rock and earth as high as the Woolworth Building in New York City (with a square base of 700 feet) which must be removed before this work is finished. He tried to visualize the far-extending line of 12,000,000 wagons which would be necessary to carry away this little mountain if the 80 dinky little engines and the 800 dump-cars were not mercifully taking the place of the mule, the horse, and the dirt-cart.

During the morning the Spectator had seen the human-like derricks, their poles of Oregon fir reaching a hundred feet into the air, extend their arms carefully and transfer to any desired point their buckets full of sand or crushed stone which they had cleverly scooped up. Near by to these were always the blacksmith shops and the storehouses where anything necessary for the repair or replacement of an injured part of any of the machinery could be obtained without delay. And once in a while he met one of the fifty-six engineers who have laid out and are supervising the construction work.

In fact, the Spectator had met with so many features which had indicated the magnitude of this undertaking that when he reached Nicholson he did not at first appreciate the size of the viaduct there over Tunkhannock Creek, though it will be the largest concrete viaduct in the world! He of course jotted down in his note-book that its total length will be 2,230 feet, that it will be supported by two abutments and eleven piers, the highest of which will be 243 feet from the ground, and that in order to reach a solid foundation for one of these piers it was necessary to excavate through sixty feet of quicksand. He carefully underscored the facts that 2,000,000 pounds of steel reinforcement will be necessary to strengthen the 168,000 cubic yards of concrete which will go into this structure. His sense of wonder was not affected in the least when he learned that, in connection with the Martens Creek viaduct near Kingsley, which will be the second largest concrete viaduct in the world, and taking into account the smaller bridges, over 398,000 cubic yards of concrete will be used on this work; and that to bring on the ground the 398,000 barrels of cement used in mixing all of this concrete would require 2,500 freight cars—a train nineteen miles long! These figures he merely preserved as so many valuable items to be repeated at the dinner-table that evening in a manner which would force his listeners to believe that his knowledge of numbers of such magnitude somehow reflected great credit upon him.

But the stupendous proportions not only of the concrete work but of the entire undertaking were all at once fully realized by him when he climbed up the ladder to the top of one of the piers of this Nicholson viaduct in course of construction. From his elevated vantage-point he watched for a few minutes the operation of the cable railway which brings the concrete from the mixer to this pier and dumps it, a coarse, muddy mass,

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into the hole where the laborers below spread it out evenly. He thought of the cradle railway a few miles over the hills where men were running dump-cars out on a wire suspension bridge in order to make a fill; there came into his mind the story about the swamp up at New Milford, which it was supposed 60,000 yards of rock would fill, and which had already absorbed 400,000 yards, with the end not yet in sight. He remembered the double-tracked tunnel over 3,600 feet long only two miles east of this point which was being constructed, and he thought of the immense havoc and loss of life which the 10,000,000 pounds of dynamite which will be used on this work were capable of causing. It was then that it seemed to him that this enormous financial cost, these difficult engineering features, and the risks to human life involved must result in some great saving in distance and time to the railway which was constructing the cut-off. Consequently when he learned of the short distance which would be saved he was very anxious to know just how the undertaking could pay, and he listened carefully to the details of the work as they were given to him by the engineer in charge of the work.

He learned that the total distance of the cut-off which runs from Clark's Summit, near Scranton, to Hallstead, not far from Binghamton, will be 39.63 miles. The time saved by a fast freight train between these points will be from ten to twenty minutes. But it is the reduction of grades and the removal of curves which will lessen the running time, he was told, and it is these two features also which will bring about the great savings which will make this enterprise worth while. Curves are as powerful as grades, not only in reducing the speed of a train and the hauling power of a locomotive, but also in causing the wear and tear on the wheels and entire rolling stock of a railway.

It was explained to the Spectator that the curvature on the present alignment of the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Railroad between the points mentioned is 3,940 degrees, but that in the new alignment this will be reduced to 1,608 degrees, which means that a train will turn almost seven fewer complete circles in going over the new road than it turned in passing over the old. It was pointed out to him by means of the blue-prints that the present maximum grade going west from Clark's Summit to New Milford is 36 feet to a mile; on the new line between the same points it will be 12½ feet to the mile; that the present maximum grade between New Milford and Nicholson going east is 71 feet per mile; when the cut-off is completed, this will not be more than 36 feet. It was easy for him to understand that, inasmuch as the tonnage which an engine can draw over a given stretch of road is determined entirely by the heaviest grade in that distance, this change means that many freight trains which require from one to four "pushers" over these heavy grades can be drawn by one engine, or, if the pushers are retained, the tonnage of these trains can be greatly increased. The Spectator at last began to comprehend how it is not from any extraordinary reduction in time and distance, but in the saving in the wear and tear on rolling stock, in the enabling of one engine to do the work of three or four, from the greater economy of operation and from the increased probability of freedom from expensive accidents, which result from having a road as free from grades and curves as possible, that this road expects to save yearly a sum which will more than pay the interest on the amount that the new road will cost.

"Truly an age when the consideration of little things, the seemingly unimportant, determines great enterprises, great movements," the Spectator said to himself as he thanked the engineer for his kindness and left his office. And he moralized to himself, as he rode away from Nicholson, as to how this had probably always been so, although it had never been realized so emphatically as it is to-day.

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THE NEW BOOKS

On the Seaboard. By August Strindberg. Translated by Elizabeth Clarke Westergren. Stewart & Kidd Company, Cincinnati. $1.25.

Red Room (The). By August Strindberg. Translated by Ellis Schleussner. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.25.

Plays. By August Strindberg. Translated by Edwin Björkman. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.

In Midsummer Days. By August Strindberg. Translated by Ellis Schleussner. McBride, Nast & Co., New York. $1.25.

Strindberg's love of nature and almost passionate love of the sea were referred to in commenting some time ago on his autobiographical novel "The Son of a Servant." In "On the Seaboard" he gives proof of the fascination the sea had for him in his vivid and intimate descriptions. The story is a psychological study of a man of education and refinement who works among the peasant fisher-folk of the Baltic island and gradually reverses their opinion of him from suspicious hate to warm appreciation of his qualities. The love element is treated with too great frankness.

Passing through the door of "The Red Room," we find ourselves in the midst of a motley company—hunger-pinched artists and actors, aspiring journalists—an out-at-the-elbow bohemian lot who mingle in fraternal misery, riotous good-fellowship, and brilliant intellectual combat. The book is said to present a true picture of the set that first received young Strindberg in Stockholm. It is not always pleasant reading, but grips the attention.

In the "Plays" (third series) there is a variety of material: "Simoon," a horrifying one-act sketch which unmistakably shows the influence of Poe; "Debit and Credit," belonging to the same period, but with more of Nietzsche than of Poe; "Advent," a Christmas sermon, full of Swedenborgian symbolism, which belongs to what the author calls his "Inferno period," when he was trying to rid himself of the depression which he regarded as punishment brought about by his previous skepticism. "After the Fire" and "The Thunderstorm" are autobiographical, the home destroyed in the first being Strindberg's own in Stockholm, where he spent much of his childhood and youth; while "The Thunderstorm" embodies the author's experiences in his third and last marriage, as seen in retrospect. "Swanwhite" is a fairy play dealing with the transforming power of pure love, and gives evidence of the influence of Maeterlinck.

By far the happiest phase of Strindberg is shown in the collection of sketches entitled "In Midsummer Days." Some are sad, some distinctly vague, but all interesting, particularly as they show Strindberg to have possessed something of that lighter humor that he is commonly supposed to have entirely lacked. In this volume, instead of the mad pessimist, we find the clever word-artist who could produce delicate etchings as well as paint conflagrations and lurid sunsets.

Masters of Past Time (The). Translated from the French of Eugène Fromentin. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.50.

The late Eugène Fromentin was a great art critic. He was at his best in writing "Les Maîtres d'Autrefois." The book is now translated under the title "The Masters of Past Time." It was written only a year or two before Fromentin's death in 1876, when he was on a visit to the Low Countries, and comprises a criticism of Dutch and Flemish masters.

The volume has compelling charm. First of all, on every page one feels the consciousness that it was written by a man who was both an artist and a writer, by one who had both a technical knowledge of painting and a fine literary style. Fromentin's pictures are of Eastern subjects, and are notable both for richness of coloring and for harmony of tone. These qualities are reflected in the author's text. In the second place, the book has charm from the fact that it has no particular method or continuity. The chapters are studies and the studies are notes and the notes are, as Fromentin said, "but unconnected and disproportionate elements of a book that is yet to be written." He intended that book to be a kind of informal discourse on painting.

The result of these factors is that "Les Maîtres d'Autrefois" quickly became a classic and has always remained a classic. And yet there is still a further and finer charm—Fromentin's deliberate omissions. He distinctly avoids the abstruse and the obscure. He does not bother himself much with "issues" and "tendencies." He simply tells us how he was surprised or astonished or pleased or disappointed. It is a very sincere, straightforward book, this. And through it all we recognize the reverence of a man who believed his art to be the expression of the invisible by means of the visible.

Jane Austen. By Francis Warre Cornish. The Macmillan Company, New York. 75 cents.

To be candid, one is scarcely prepared to find a new biography of Jane Austen absorbing, but let such a one take up this recent volume in the series of "English Men of Letters" and learn his mistake. We know that there were few events of moment in the quiet life of this woman; her range of interests was narrow, and she rarely refers to the stirring times of England and France, with which she had some connection through her own family. However, this biography glows with much of the charm that forces us to read our Jane Austen over and over again. In one of her letters she refers to her-

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self as "the most unlearned and uninformed female who ever dared to be an authoress."

After noting briefly the few facts of Miss Austen's home and family surroundings, and criticising her books taken one by one, the author finds her possessed of little idealism, little romance, tenderness, poetry, or religion, yet places her beside Molière for clear and sympathetic vision of human character. She was a spectator of life, neither an enthusiast nor a philanthropist. She knew what became of the characters she created, though she did not always tell us. She did not end her books with "a situation, an epigram, a cork flying from a bottle," in modern fashion.

The lovers of Miss Austen's stories (and they are many) will agree with the biographer's comprehensive summary of her genius and its comparative value.

Mr. Cornish says: "She sees everything in clear outline and perspective. She does not care to analyze by logic what she knows by intuition. She does not search out the grounds of motive like George Eliot, nor illumine them like Meredith by searchlight flashes of insight, nor like Hardy display them by irony sardonic or pitying, nor like Henry James thread a labyrinth of indications and intimations, repulsions and attractions, right and left, all pointing to the central temple where sits the problem. She has no need to construct her characters, for there they are before her, like Mozart's music, only waiting to be written down."

Horace Blake. By Mrs. Wilfrid Ward. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.35.

A seriously conceived and admirably worked out novel by Mrs. Wilfrid Ward is found in this unusual character study. Because of his wife's belief in Blake's genius, although she viewed with open eyes the horrors of his wickedness, she remained with him through all the phases of his public and private career. The story opens with the painful scene of Blake's final struggle against the retribution nature exacted because of his physical and mental excesses. Kate had hidden the evil of his ways from the public, which adored his genius, and she was determined to shield him to the last. His decision to go to France to rest, and leave her in England, exposed to misunderstanding because of her apparent desertion of a dying man, was a terrible blow to her, but she submitted.

The author's clear analysis of the processes in the minds of husband and wife at this juncture is masterly. Blake's daughter, a young girl, goes with the father whom she hardly knew. From this point the psychology of the story is most interesting. The author shows a wonderful grasp, both mentally and spiritually, of the situation. It is impossible to attempt an analysis of the subtle development so perfectly followed out in the story. The untrained, awaking daughter; the effect upon the three Blakes of the open-hearted, clever Stephen Tempest; his attempt to write Blake's biography, at Kate's request; and the astonishingly truthful end of the attempt—all this is told with consummate art. Kate's vehement question put to Stephen after his failure is one of the most penetrating thoughts to be found in modern fiction. Why had not his Christianity explained her husband to her? Why did Stephen not understand that both phases of Blake were true, "the vileness and the nobility that came out of that awful cleansing," for in the end Blake awoke to the real meaning of man's life.

Whispering Dust. By Eldrid Reynolds. The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. $1.10.

This is the story of an English curate's daughter who at the age of thirty-three feels herself immeasurably old and as if she had existed in vain, having always lived "among grime and turnip fields." An unexpected legacy enables her to travel, and she starts off "to find Space," as she expresses her vague longings and ambitions. Egypt, where the very dust whispers of the immensity of time and space, is the objective point. *En route*, in a little church at Marseilles, just as the pathetic little ships swung from the roof begin to take definite shape, the personality referred to throughout the book as "YOU" is born to her consciousness, and when she rejoins her companions she is a recreated woman, although outwardly the same, except that she has left her umbrella in the church.

"Do you believe in romance?" she asks later of the hard-featured Yorkshire woman who has instituted herself the conductor of the party. "My hair always grew too far back on my head for romance," is the reply.

Life is like that, only many people do not know it; and this book can safely be commended only to those who do not care whether Donatello's ears were pointed or not, and who believe in fairies and such beings.

The descriptive part makes Egypt real, and the character-drawing is good. The message of the book is clearly that it is better to give than to try to get, especially if one wants to stay young.

Joan's Green Year. By E. L. Doon. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

"Joan's Green Year" was one spent as a paying guest at the Manor Farm with tenant-farmers who had lived in Pelton for six generations. A woman of high birth, a factor in society, a writer of novels, Joan rested herself, mind and body, and described her experiences in long, vivid letters to her twin brother, an officer in India.

The book is simple, well written, and, while not exciting or remarkable, is pleasant to read. Joan penetrates beneath the surface of individual lives by her sympathetic understanding, and for

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herself learns of some unhappy results of the workings of governmental decrees in agricultural England.

Korean Folk Tales. Translated by James S. Gale. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.25.

This is a very interesting group of stories of imps, ghosts, and fairies translated for the first time from the work of Korean writers. It is a valuable addition to a kind of literature which used to be regarded as trivial and diverting, but now affords material for serious study to the student of sociology and racial traits, for Korea is in many respects one of the most interesting countries in the East, and Dr. Gale has been long one of the most sympathetic and intelligent students of Korean character and life.

Mr. Gale is a thoroughly equipped scholar in Korean history, literature, and art, and, of course, in the language. For many years he has identified himself with the life of Korea, and his selection of stories may therefore be accepted as based on wide knowledge and on a clear idea of the value of the tales he has chosen. They are, from the Western point of view, extremely queer, and for that reason they are the more characteristically Korean, for there is no queerer country in the world, looked at as the casual visitor sees it. But the Koreans are people of remarkable qualities. No one can predict the possibilities of their development, and everything that enables us to understand the Korean mind is of value. This is what Dr. Gale does in this unpretentious little book. He gives us a glimpse into the back of the Korean brain. The stories are translated into admirable English.

Anglo-French Entente in the Seventeenth Century. By Charles Bastide. The John Lane Company, New York. $3.

A volume with this title gives one the impression that it will be a book of sober character. As a matter of fact, the volume is lively.

By abundant extracts and quotations, it reports the real life lived in the seventeenth century, especially in London. We note the impression made by the Huguenots on English thought, and, on the other hand, we note that the French were among the first to copy English ideas in philosophy and politics; that they were among the first to admire Locke and Newton and to practice parliamentary government. Given these circumstances, it was natural that, despite mutual jealousies, England and France should have been drawn together. The fact was that, as our author says, having reached the same degree of civilization, England and France had need of each other. The best people in each country were sensible enough to see that the causes that kept them apart were really accidental—royal policies or temporary commercial rivalries, or some estrangement through the selfishness of party leaders.

The same thing exists to-day, if in less degree, and fortunately there is to-day in each country a larger body of leaders who appreciate the need for each other of two nations which have reached the same degree of civilization.

Beautiful Lady Craven (The). Edited by A. M. Broadley and Lewis Melville. 2 vols. The John Lane Company, New York. $7.50 per set.

Two large volumes, well illustrated with many portraits, contain a biographical introduction and the memoirs of "The Beautiful Lady Craven," perhaps better known as the Margravine of Anspach. The editors have expended much care and show a judicial historical temper in the execution of their task.

The beauty, spirit, intellect, domestic difficulties, travels, and many friendships of Lady Craven gave her marked prominence during her long life, which covered the years from 1750 to 1828. Her memoirs, written when she was over seventy, as might be imagined and forgiven, soften some details that are coldly recorded in the biography. Lady Craven assures us that her character for veracity was thoroughly established, and that many royalties and prominent folk relied upon her versions of current events. The editors, however, do not deny that she may be charged with more than one "terminological inexactitude." Many new facts are included in these volumes, and the editors use them with skill, giving us a lively impression of England and the English from the time of George II to the close of the reign of George IV.

American and English Studies. By Whitelaw Reid. In 2 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $4 per set.

Government, education, biography, history, journalism—these are the subjects treated in these volumes. The subjects well illustrate the nature and scope of Mr. Reid's ideas and ideals. In editing these essays Mr. Royal Cortissoz says that they illustrate Mr. Reid's purely intellectual habit and his point of view as a citizen. They recall the refined yet vigorous, courtly yet firm, man and gentleman known to many of us and only just gone from among us. They reflect a man always absorbed in public affairs. From the time when the youth, too young to vote, "took the stump" in 1856 for Fremont, Whitelaw Reid was, to the day of his death, a signal example of the fine-cut, incisive, and scholarly but always public-spirited citizen at work in his country's service.

The present volumes do not include Mr. Reid's "stump" speeches. Instead, we have here Mr. Reid's carefully studied exhibitions of constructive thought developed with leisurely calm. The conviction borne upon the reader's mind as he peruses these volumes is that the contributions to it are the result of no doctrinaire studies, but of the author's actual personal experience. When Mr. Reid spoke of education, for instance, it was as a member of the Board of Regents of New York State. When he spoke of governmental, and espe-

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cially of international, relations it was as a member of the Spanish Peace Commission, or as Minister to France, or as Ambassador to Great Britain. More attractive still are the political portraits, especially that of Jefferson.

But to many the most attractive and profitable of all the papers will be the four grouped under the head of "An Editor's Reflections." Half a century ago Mr. Reid was the Civil War correspondent of the New York "Tribune." As contributor and later as editor Mr. Reid did more than any one after Greeley's death to give to that particular journal its enviable atmosphere of historic worth. And he did as much as any one, we think, to lift the whole plane of journalism to a new level. He stamped the profession with a wider authority and influence.

Lollardy and the Reformation in England: An Historical Survey. By James Gairdner, C.B., LL.D., Litt.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $3.

Dr. Gairdner's contributions to sound history have been surpassed in scholarly merit by no writer in our time. In the volume preceding this the inner forces at work in the revolutionary movement denominated the English Reformation were brought to view from original sources. This second volume is similarly concerned for an authentic account of the reaction toward Rome that set in with Mary's succession to Edward VI. Its especial worth consists in its supply of material from late researches for a fairer judgment of the parties concerned than is generally entertained. The period it covers is Mary's first year, concluding with her unfortunate marriage to Philip of Spain. The death of Dr. Gairdner has left unfinished a work that needs an equally competent hand to complete it. "Lollardy," a term derived from Wyclif's time, is synonymous with early Puritanism.

History of English Patriotism (The). By Esmé Wingfield-Stratford. Two vols. The John Lane Company, New York. $7.50.

It is not often that a historical work combines such qualities of interpretative ability, sound scholarship, and literary workmanship as are apparent in this splendid study of the men and movements that have counted for most in England's making. Any forebodings one may have at sight of its enormous bulk—it is a work of more than twelve hundred pages—are quickly dispelled by the beauties of its style and the vigor of its author's thought. There is literally not a dull page in it, and few that fail to make a stimulating impression on the reader's mind.

Taking as his starting-point the contention that the basic element in English achievement has been the sentiment of patriotism, Mr. Wingfield-Stratford traces the course and manifestations of the patriotic impulse from the beginnings of English history to the present day, as exhibited not alone in the varying fortunes of England as a political entity, but also in the ebb and flow of English art, literature, philosophy, and science. Always he finds periods of greatness corresponding with periods of exceptional patriotic fervor, and, on the other hand, periods of political and intellectual sterility linked with periods in which love of country was not strongly manifest.

He is a frank hero-worshiper, as is evident particularly from his portraits of Cromwell, the younger Pitt, and Disraeli; he is also frankly Tory in his political sympathies. But he quite as evidently endeavors, and mostly with success, to do justice to every personage he studies; and, in addition, whether writing of statesmen, warriors, artists, authors, or scientists, displays a mastery of his subject that makes his work almost as useful as a book of reference as it is admirable for its literary and scholastic excellences.

Improvements of Towns and Cities. By Charles Mulford Robinson, M.A. (Fourth Revised Edition.) G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.25.

This new edition appears twelve years after the first publication of the book, and naturally represents an amplification of data and a recasting of certain statements. The book has had its sure share in causing the swift advance made in recent years towards civic æsthetics, and the new edition will be welcomed by readers everywhere.

English Travellers of the Renaissance. By Clare Howard. The John Lane Company, New York. $2.50.

This very interesting book continues the story which is told in a work published two or three years ago, "Touring in 1600." Both are foot-notes to modern history, though there is no connection between the two. This volume deals chiefly with the Grand Tour in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It quotes voluminously from the earliest guide-books, which were simply informal collections of directions for foreign travelers, chiefly for the guidance of English youths in their excursions to the Continent.

The motives which led people to travel are analyzed, the relation of the traveler to the period is clearly pointed out, and the stages by which the motive was changed, first from the pursuit of knowledge to the acquirement of the arts, then to the developments of dancing, fencing, and riding, and finally to the fostering of a kind of electric dilettanteism. The book has bearing, therefore, on old English education, old English social life, and old English politics. There are twelve illustrations from portraits and old prints.

Heroines of Modern Religion. Edited by Warren Dunham Foster. Sturgis & Walton, New York. $1.50.

These popular biographies edited by Mr. Foster, and written by several persons, will be useful to students in the many study classes in the churches. Ten women, from Anne Hutchinson to Maude Ballington Booth, pass in review, and are presented with fairness and some attractiveness of style.

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BY THE WAY

"The story of my flight from Paris to Cairo," says Jules Vedrines in an article in "Flying," "is the glorification of my motor and my apparatus, no bolt or wire of which moved from the time I left Paris to the time I arrived at Cairo." Once during his flight, he says, he almost "looped" involuntarily, but his motor did not fail him. "Aeroplanes," he concludes, "are comfortably reliable now. One can undertake a flight around the world with them." And several aviators are now planning such a flight.

The Catholic Theater Movement aims to recommend to Roman Catholics the plays that they may properly attend without danger to faith or morals. Among the host of plays that are presented nightly in New York City only two were recently found that the society was willing to indorse. These were "Peg o' My Heart" and "The Things that Count."

After thirty-three years of continuous service as a trustee of Columbia University Seth Low has resigned. For ten years of this period, from 1890 to 1900, Mr. Low was President of the University.

A man who recently attained some notoriety by spending $3,000 in one day missed a great opportunity to rid himself of a part of his monetary burden. "He distributed dollar bills among the bellboys and elevator men and then adjourned to his suite of rooms, where he shaved himself"!! Why did he omit the fashionable barber shop, with its host of supernumeraries eagerly awaiting fees—the man who shaves you, the bootblack, the manicurist, the boy who brushes your coat? Did the spendthrift think his roll would be exhausted too soon?

The "North American Review" publishes an article appealing for the use of "yes" as an affirmative. "Yeh.a" or "yep," the author claims, is displacing the real word. "The majority of our population," says the article, "use this form 'Yeh.a' at least ten times as often as 'yes.'" "Nope" for "no" does not come under the author's condemnation, but it is almost as common and as offensive. Why shouldn't the Boy Scouts start a movement to restore the correct pronunciation of these words among their other laudable projects?

A large collection of the pictures of the late J. G. Brown were sold at auction in New York City last week. The bootblacks and newsboys painted by Mr. Brown are now almost entirely extinct, if they ever existed. The boys of other races have taken possession of the city, and the apple-cheeked, impossibly clean street urchins of Mr. Brown's fancy might be searched for in vain.

Exploration of little-known regions is still apparently as active as ever, judging from a recent report of President Osborn, of the American Museum of Natural History, which stated that last year twenty-three expeditions had been in the field, making the year the greatest in exploration in the history of the institution. Notable among these expeditions are those to Crocker Land, under Donald B. MacMillan; to the Congo, under Messrs. Lang and Chapin; to British East Africa, under Paul J. Rainey. James Barnes and Cherry Kearton are also now in Africa taking motion pictures of wild game.

The Rev. Dr. R. S. MacArthur, President of the World's Baptist Alliance, has returned to America after a 24,000-mile world tour in the interest of missions. While in Rangoon, Burma, Dr. MacArthur assisted in the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the landing there of the Rev. Adoniram Judson, who translated the Bible into Burmese.

A musical prodigy, an Italian child only eight years old, Willy Ferrero by name, recently conducted the Russian Imperial Orchestra of St. Petersburg in the presence of the Czar, according to newspaper despatches. The programme consisted of selections from Wagner, Grieg, and Bizet. Mozart, it will be remembered, played on the harpsichord at four years of age, and composed several musical pieces when six years old.

Three hundred and two persons were killed by motor cars in New York City in 1913, as against 221 in 1912. In the entire State of New York the loss of life during 1913 by vehicular traffic was: by automobiles, 451; by trolleys, 187; and by wagons, 164; making a total of 802.

Dr. Daniel C. Logue, the last survivor of the crew of the Monitor, Ericsson's famous iron ship which stayed the victorious career of the Confederate ironclad Merrimac, is dead. Dr. Logue was the Monitor's surgeon, and attended Captain Worden, the vessel's commander, when he was stunned by the concussion of a shell from the Merrimac which struck the Monitor's turret.

Runs on banks are often inexplicable. The Bank for Savings in New York City, one of the largest institutions of its kind in the world, recently had an experience of this sort. For some unknown reason its depositors, largely foreigners, began to withdraw their accounts. In five days nearly $2,500,000 was withdrawn by the long line of anxious depositors. Many of these after a few days redeposited their savings in the same bank.

A lady, remarks a Boston contemporary, was surprised to hear a woman of apparent cultivation pronounce the word "mural" as though it were spelled mooral. She slipped out and consulted her dictionary, remarking to a friend on her return, "She is wrong. Mu is pronounced mew, as in cat."

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COMMERCE AND FINANCE

A WEEKLY ARTICLE BY THEODORE H. PRICE

BOND DISTRIBUTION: ITS PROBLEMS, PROCESSES, AND MACHINERY

IT is estimated that the par value of the American bonds sold each year averages two billion dollars. Accurate figures are not obtainable, but this estimate is the consensus of the best opinion.

The same authorities are substantially agreed that four per cent about equals the average difference between the consideration that the maker of the bonds receives for them and the price paid by the public or institutional investors, such as the savings banks, insurance companies, and the like. This four per cent includes not only the profits of all intermediaries, but also the expenses of administration, legal examination, expert investigation, and advertisement.

It is not a certain profit, and, when realized, represents the dealer's compensation for undertaking what is a rather hazardous venture, resulting not infrequently in loss rather than gain.

Probably the bonds sold have an average of thirty years to run, so that the four per cent is the equivalent of an annual tax of thirteen one-hundredths of one per cent upon the principal of the investment. Thus, a thirty-year bond, bought, in the first instance, upon a five per cent basis, must be resold upon a 4.87 basis: the difference of .13, capitalized for thirty years, equals four per cent on the principal. On the average annual turnover of $2,000,000,000, four per cent is $80,000,000; this seems large, but it does not look so big when we consider that it is distributed between about one thousand concerns having a large capital, extensive experience, and employing in the aggregate at least ten thousand salesmen and clerks. In fact, when we compare what may be called the distribution charge with the cost of finding buyers for other things, it will be generally agreed that four per cent, to cover profit, commissions, and all other expenses, is small. In fact, I doubt if there is a single important article of commerce, except perhaps coal, that is or can be handled on as small a margin as four per cent.

In the case of coal, it is the stability of price and demand that makes a smaller margin possible; and we find that the same principle works itself out in the bond market, where issues of undoubted value, such as "governments," "municipals," and well-secured bonds of great corporations are handled on a basis much below the suggested four per cent, supposed to be the average of all transactions coming within the field of respectable finance.

Those who in good faith take exception to the profits legitimately made by the concerns that are engaged in the distribution of securities generally seek to enforce their criticism by airily asking, "Why is it that good securities will not sell themselves?"

The question is sufficiently answered by the psychology of human nature which makes most of us followers and so few of us leaders, endowed with the necessary capacity for independent judgment and decision.

There is nothing that will "sell itself" unless the art of salesmanship shall, by either direct persuasion or auto-suggestion, galvanize desire into the act of purchase.

It is related that Charles James Fox, the great English statesman and gambler, once wagered a hundred pounds that gold sovereigns offered at a shilling apiece on the crowded streets of London would find no buyers. He won his bet and showed himself possessed of the same knowledge of human nature that leads bankers to "prepare a market" for an important bond issue by accentuating in advance all the factors likely to increase the avidity of investors.

It is this emotional or psychological element that has made and will continue to make necessary the machinery of bond distribution. While we speak of it as machinery, it consists chiefly of men and it deals chiefly with men. Roughly, the men of which it is composed may be divided into three groups, but, as the members of each group may at times perform the functions of one or both of the other groups, it is impossible to differentiate them except as to the field in which they are most conspicuously active.

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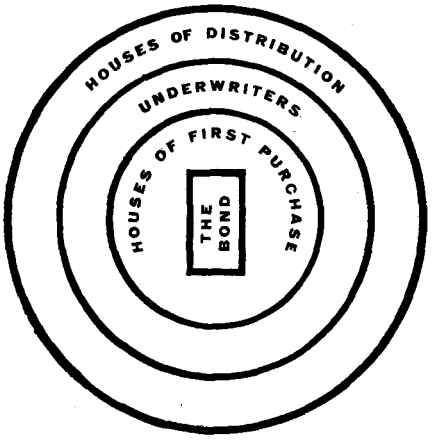
Briefly described, these three groups consist of:

1. The houses of first purchase.
2. The underwriters.
3. The houses of distribution.

They may be conceived of as three concentric circles, thus:



This diagram is defective in that it does not, and cannot be made to, visualize the participation which a member of any one group may have in the functions usually reserved to the others. In this respect the business is one in which the co-operative feature is highly developed and the burden and the risk widely distributed, so that in case of loss it will not fall too heavily on a single concern.

It will, however, be sufficient for my purpose if we consider each group as working within the circle in which it is usually active, and disregard its occasional incursion into one or both of the other fields.

The Houses of First Purchase compose a group small numerically but strong financially. Until recently it was supposed that membership in the so-called "Money Trust" was a condition of inclusion within this group. This idea is now exploded, for it is realized that some of the houses in the inner group are both able and willing to act with absolute independence. In New York there are perhaps seven or eight firms who may be classified as "houses of first purchase" for bond issues of five million dollars or over. In Boston there are three or possibly four, and in Chicago and Philadelphia two each.

In the cities named, as well as in St. Louis, Cleveland, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Denver, and San Francisco, there are a number of concerns that are entirely competent to take the initiative in handling relatively small issues, but when the amount involved exceeds three or four millions it is generally found necessary to enlist the services of one of the larger organizations.

Under such conditions competition is, of course, limited, but the idea that it does not exist is effectively negatived by the testimony recently given at the trial of a suit for commissions claimed on the refinancing of the Baldwin Locomotive Company.

It is believed by some that the Federal Reserve System will result in the development of eight or ten great financial centers in the United States, and correspondingly increase the number of concerns qualified to handle large investment issues. This is questionable, but, under conditions as they are and have been, few houses have had the enabling credit and capital required to buy outright a large issue of bonds and the prestige necessary to insure their subsequent distribution. The would-be borrower cannot afford to deal with any concern not able to promptly say Yes or No to his proposition, and large resources, commanding position, and a reputation for success are essential to any firm or corporation that would buy ten or twenty million dollars' worth of bonds and thereafter market them profitably.

When such an issue has been bought, the buyer almost invariably proceeds at once to minimize his risk in the transaction by distributing it among

The Underwriters. The function of this group will be better understood in the light of etymology. The distribution of risk which is now called insurance was at first accomplished by an agreement among merchants to share the hazard of each other's ventures. This agreement, being expressed in writing, was signed by the various parties thereto, and in so signing they *wrote* their names *under* it, thus becoming *underwriters* or insurers. This is precisely what is done in the underwriting of a bond issue, except that the principle of co-operation is applied, not only to diminish risk, but to increase the probability of a reasonable profit. To make this clear the illustration of a concrete case is necessary. Let us assume that a firm of bankers, having agreed to purchase $20,000,000 of 4½ per cent bonds at 90, determine to offer them to the public at 94 and to pay the distributing houses who may finally dispose of them 1½ per cent for their services and expenses in distribution. If and when the bonds

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are sold, the net price received by the house of original purchase will be 92½, which would leave them 2½ per cent profit less expenses. It is, however, quite possible that the bonds will not be sold at 94, in which case the original purchasers might find their money indefinitely tied up or have to accept a substantial loss to release it. To guard against this contingency, and before offering the bonds at 94, they proceed to divide their possible profit with other houses or individuals who are willing to share the risk and become underwriters.

These underwriters agree to buy the bonds at 91 if they are not taken by the public at 94, less the distributer's commission of 1½ per cent, or 92½ net.

If the sale is a success, the underwriters, having agreed to buy at 91 the bonds sold at 92½, receive 1½ per cent for the risk they have assumed. If it is not a success, they must take the bonds at 91, and the original purchasers are thus assured of 1 per cent profit on the transaction, out of which all expenses must be paid.

For the chance of making 1½ per cent on the amount of their commitment, the underwriters face the possibility of having to tie up their capital indefinitely or accept a heavy loss; and the losses so accruing during the past two years would surprise the uninitiated and disabuse them of the idea fostered by financial novels and the drama that participation in a Wall Street syndicate implies a certainty of profit. In the selection of the underwriters care is generally taken to secure concerns or individuals whose opinion is influential in investment finance. This is done upon the assumption that an underwriter who is assured of 1½ per cent profit, if the sale is successful, will do what he can to make it so. As a matter of fact, however, this theory is not to be relied upon in practice, so far as the American markets are concerned. It is thought to be an important factor in French finance, from which it is supposed the idea of the "underwriting syndicate" was derived, but in the United States sentiment is properly opposed to it upon the ground that no one can disinterestedly advise the purchase of securities by the sale of which he will profit.

The duties and responsibilities of the underwriters are therefore comparatively simple and need not be further enlarged upon.

The final and most picturesque group, namely,

The Houses of Distribution, remain to be considered. They are so numerous, and their organization and dealings embrace so many human and interesting elements, that it is not possible within the space now at my disposal to tell the story of their activities as it deserves to be told.

In a succeeding article I shall make the attempt.

*Many letters have been received from our readers as a result of Mr. Price's first two financial articles. Most of these letters express cordial approval of The Outlook's proposal to deal with commercial and financial subjects from the expert point of view, and decided interest in Mr. Price's method of treating the current questions of the day in the business world. For example, a Pennsylvania banker writes: "I have ordered a number of copies of The Outlook for distribution among our bond department staff." A Chicago banker says, "I shall watch for your succeeding articles in The Outlook with a great deal of interest." A Pittsburgh banker says, "If Mr. Price's succeeding articles are as interesting as his first one, I hope you will have them put in book form so that we in the bond business may have them in our libraries." Another Western banker compliments the originality of the diagram entitled "Bond Values Triangulated," in which Mr. Price graphically showed week before last the essential factors that contribute to the value and stability of bonds as an investment. Somewhat to our surprise, a prominent advertising agency approves of Mr. Price's comment upon "extravagant expenditure in advertising," and expresses the wish that he might write more on advertising topics. This correspondence gives us the opportunity of saying that any letters regarding his articles addressed to Mr. Price in care of The Outlook, whether they are of approval, of criticism, or of inquiry, will receive his careful and interested attention. He cannot undertake to make a personal response in every instance, but the views or criticisms of his readers will aid him in discussing those matters which are of general public interest.—*THE EDITORS.

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